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The East Asian Journal of Classical Studies (TEAJCS) is an online journal to present to the English-speaking world information about Classical Greek and Roman studies in East Asia. Articles, mainly by scholars in East Asia, are peer-reviewed and also include English translations of articles originally published in East Asian languages. In addition to book reviews, there are also bibliographies of Classical studies and translations in East Asia. Published on behalf of the Taiwan Association of Classical, Medieval and Renaissance Studies (https://tacmrs.org.tw).

Letter from the Editor-in-Chief

Dear Readers,

It is with great pleasure that we present to you the first issue of the peer-reviewed open-access online journal *The East Asian Journal of Classical Studies* (TEAJCS). The idea for such a journal originated with the Taiwan Association of Classical, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies (TACMRS), which then requested me to be the Editor-in-chief, a task which I accepted not realizing what a challenge it would be.

To be able to bring out this journal required the help of many, and to them, I want to give my sincerest thanks, especially members of the various boards of the journal. Members of the International Advisory Board who were especially helpful include Douglas Cairns, University of Edinburgh, who promptly responded to whatever questions I might have; David Quentin Dauthier, an independent scholar, who was responsible for putting the journal online; Hsu Hsueh-yung, National Taiwan University, who answered all my questions about Classical scholars in Taiwan, and Naoko Yamagata, The Open University, who made invaluable suggestions as to what should be included in the journal.

All of the Executive Editors (Jaewon Ahn, Seoul National University; Makoto Anzai, Professor emeritus, Hokkaido University; Kee-Hyun Ban, Korea Military Academy; and Sven Günther, Northeast Normal University) were unstinting in their support and provided especially important information about their respective countries. As for the Country Assistants, from the very beginnings of the development of this journal, Ichiro Taida, Toyo University, and Liu Yue, Fu Jen Catholic University, worked closely with me to assemble the material needed to bring out the journal.

Finally, special thanks should be given to the Advisory Board from the Taiwan Association of Classical, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies, the members of which assisted in whatever way necessary for the realization of this journal.

Originally, we hoped that this first issue of TEAJCS would appear in 2021, but, for various reasons, that was not able to be done. My apologies are offered to the authors of the articles and book reviews who were expecting a 2021 publication. At the same time, my sincerest appreciation to these authors for their willingness to make a contribution to this journal.

One book review not included in this issue is on *Receptions of Greek and Roman Antiquity in East Asia,* edited by Almut-Barbara Renger and Xin Fan, and published by Brill in 2018. It would not be easy for a single reviewer to discuss all the articles in this volume in that there are highly specialized chapters on each East Asian country. Therefore, for a review for our 2023 issue, reviewers familiar with the East Asian country being written about, will be invited to comment on the chapters related to the respective East Asian country.

In this first issue, the bibliographies related to Classical publications, both studies and translations, in East Asia are for the years 2018 and 2019. If you are aware of any books not mentioned in these bibliographies, please let me know and they will be added. In our next issue for 2023, the bibliographies will cover the years 2021 and 2022.

The style format for this first issues basically follows the 9th edition of the *MLA Handbook*. For the 2023 issue, we will use a style sheet designed especially for TEAJCS, which can be found on our website.

We are now gathering articles for the 2023 issue. If you know of anyone appropriate to submit a paper for consideration, please encourage them to do so. Also, if you are aware of a book published in East Asia, either a study or translation, that should be reviewed in this journal, please email that the title and author to me.

Many thanks for taking the time to look at our journal.

Respectfully yours,

Nicholas Koss

Editor-in-chief

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Reports

Of Wellbeing or Savior? Emending the Herennia Announcement[1]

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Abstract

This paper discusses a widely accepted emendation to an earlier version of *IG* X 2.1 137. Early draft copies of the Herennia announcement show that Antoninus Pius was hailed as Σωτήρ by the city of Thessalonike, a rare epithet for this emperor. This reading was later replaced due to an expert's claim that σωτῆρος has to be read σωτηρίας. Since this seems to conform to a well-known salutary formula, the emendation was adopted from then on. This paper suggests that the reading of σωτῆρος is based on reliable and published reports instead, and ought to be preferred over the expert claim. Empirical evidence is given to support reading σωτῆρος.

Keywords: testamentary munus; epigraphy; emendation; Thessalonike; Antoninus Pius

[1] Early versions of this paper were presented at the 2019 TACMRS conference and the 2020 AAH conference, and I am very grateful for the presentation opportunities and for the feedback that I received. I would also like to thank professors Jeremy McInerney and Julia Wilker for reading and commenting on earlier versions of this paper. I would also like to acknowledge the three anonymous readers for providing excellent critiques and suggestions for this paper, and I hope my later modifications have brought the paper to a more satisfactory state. All errors are my own.

Introduction

This paper revisits the trail of studies that concern an inscribed announcement of a series of gladiatorial spectacles to be performed at Thessalonike in 141/2 CE.[2] The stone upon which the announcement was inscribed is now lost, and one must depend upon the authoritative edition produced by Charles Edson, who was unfortunately unable to perform an autopsy on the stone, and depended upon an assemblage of earlier studies to produce a (*IG* X 2.1 no. 137). Scholars have paid considerable interest to the relatively short announcement, because it happens to contain unique information on the municipal political and social institutions of Thessalonike in the Antonine period. Yet, scholars who devoted attention to this study also attempted to restore – and at times to emend – the inscription, and this paper wishes to interrogate one case in particular, namely Edson's emendation of the omicron in σωτῆρος to iota-alpha, producing σωτηρίας. We will begin with an introduction on IG entry, followed by discussions on studies upon which Edson depended to produce what is now commonly accepted as the authoritative text.

1. The Text of the Herennia Hispana Inscription in the *IG*

The Herennia announcement is in three sections: the invocation of imperial personages and institutions (ll. 1-6), the announcement (ll. 6-12), and the actual date on which the spectacles are to begin (ll. 6-14). A separate line is added to note that the spectacles were indeed carried out under the prescribed officials (l. 15). Edson's text printed in the *IG* is provided below (figure 1), and my translation of the text.

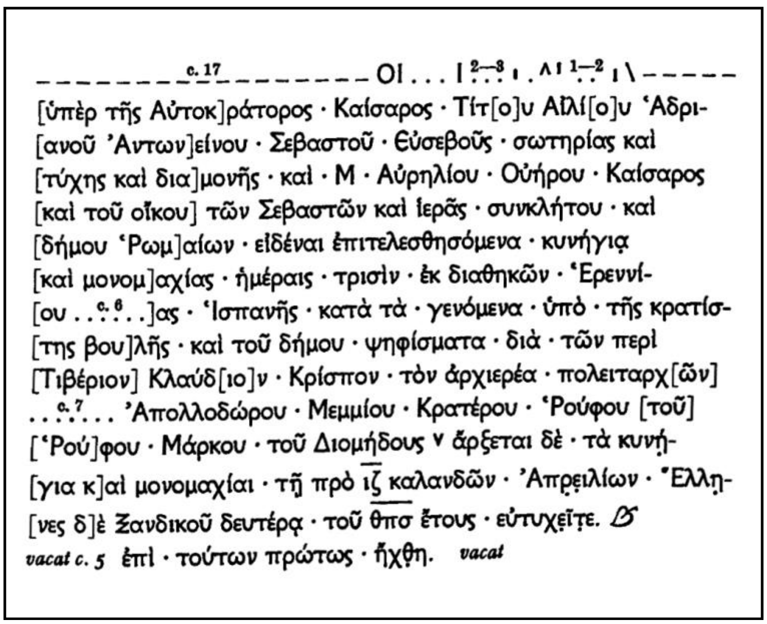

– – – – – – – – c. 17 – – – – – – – – ΟΙ . . . Ι 2–3 Ι . Λ Ι 1–2 Ι \ – – – – –
[ὑπὲρ τῆς Αὐτοκ]ράτορος · Καίσαρος · Τίτ[ο]υ Αἰλί[ο]υ ʽΑδρι-
[ανοῦ ʼΑντων]είνου · Σεβαστοῦ · Εὐσεβοῦς · σωτηρίας καὶ
[τύχης καὶ δια]μονῆς · καὶ · Μ · Αὐρηλίου · Οὐήρου · Καίσαρος
[καὶ τοῦ οἴκου] τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἱερᾶς · συνκλήτου · καὶ
[δήμου ʽΡωμ]αίων · εἰδέναι ἐπιτελεσθησόμενα · κυνήγιạ
[καὶ μονομ]αχίας · ἡμέραις · τρισὶν · ἐκ διαθηκῶν · ʽΕρεννί-
[ου . . c. 6 . .]ας · ʽΙσπανῆς · κατὰ τὰ · γενόμενα · ὑπὸ · τῆς κρατίσ-
[της βου]λῆς · καὶ τοῦ δήμου · ψηφίσματα · διὰ · τῶν περὶ
[Τιβέριον] Κλαύδ[ιο]ν · Κρίσπον · τὸν ἀρχιερέα · πολειταρχ[ῶν]
. . c. 7 . . . ʼΑπολλοδώρου · Μεμμίου · Κρατέρου · ʽΡούφου [τοῦ]
[ʽΡού]φου · Μάρκου · τοῦ Διομήδους v ἄρξεται δὲ · τὰ κυνη̣-
[για κ]αὶ μονομαχίαι · τῇ πρὸ ιζ καλανδῶν · ʼΑπρε̣ιλίων · ʽΕλλη̣-
[νες δ]ὲ Ξανδικοῦ δευτέρᾳ · τοῦ θπσ ἔτους · εὐτυχε̣ῖτ̣ε.
vacat c. 5 ἐπὶ · τούτων πρώτως · ἤχ̣θη. vacat

Figure 1. Reconstructed text of the Herennia Hispana Inscription, *IG* X 2.1 no. 137, 55.

[2] Tod 1918-1919, 209.

Translation:

> ...for the sake of the well-being, fortune, and continuity of the emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Pius Augustus, and Marcus Aurelius Verus Caesar, and of the household of the Augusti, and the sacred Senate and the People of Rome: know that the beast hunt and gladiatorial combat shall be celebrated for three days funded by the testamentary gift of Herenni[...]as Hispana, in accordance with the decision that had been reached by the most excellent council and the people's assembly (of Thessalonike), (carried out) by the politarchs attendant to the highpriest of Tiberius Claudius Crispus: ... Apollodorus, Memmius Craterus,[3] Rufus son of Rufus, Marcus son of Diomedes. The beast hunts and gladiatorial combats shall begin before the seventeenth of the calends of April (Mars 13th), (or) in the Hellenic calendar, the second of Xandikos of the 289th year (of the provincial era, 141/2 CE)[4]. May you be fortunate. During these (magistrates) (the festival in the memory of the donor) was first begun.

Our focus is in the preamble. We find a familiar sequence of salutary language, the announcement proper, and supervision clauses in an example from Beroia (*EKM* 68) issued in 229 CE.[5]

> ἀγαθῆι τύχηι. | ὑπὲρ ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ νίκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς τοῦ με|γίστου καὶ θειοτάτου καὶ ἀηττήτου κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσα|ρος Μ(άρκου) Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου ⟦[Ἀλεξάνδρου]⟧ Εὐσεβοῦς, Εὐτυχοῦς, Σεβαστοῦ, ἀρ||χιερέως μεγίστου, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ὄγδοον, ὑπάτου τὸ γ´, πατρὸς πατρί|δος, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱερωτάτης μητρὸς αὐτοῦ ⟦[Ἰουλίας Μαμαίας]⟧ Σεβαστῆς καὶ ὑ|πὲρ τοῦ σύμπαντος θείου οἴκου αὐτῶν καὶ ἱερᾶς συνκλήτου καὶ τῶν δια|σημοτάτων ἐπάρχων καὶ ἱερῶν στρατευμάτων καὶ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαί|ων, Οὐαλεριανὸς Φιλόξενος ὁ μακεδονιάρχης καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ Σε||βαστοῦ καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀγῶνος ἀλεξαν|δρείου καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Οὐαλεριανὴ Ἀμμία ἡ ἀρχιέρεια τῆς Σεβαστῆς | ἐπιτελέσουσιν ἐν τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ μητροπόλει τῆς Μακεδονί|ας Βεροιαίων πόλει κυνηγεσίων καὶ μονομαχιῶν ἡμέρας | τρεῖς. ἄρξονται δὲ τῶν φιλοτειμιῶν τῇ πρὸ · ζ´ · καλ(ανδῶν) Ἰουλίων, || Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Μ(άρκῳ) · Αὐρηλίῳ Σεου<ή>ρῳ ⟦[Ἀλεξάνδρ]⟧ ῳ Εὐσεβεῖ, Εὐ|τυχεῖ, Σεβαστῷ τὸ · γ´ · καὶ Κλ(αυδίῳ) Κασσίῳ Δίωνι τὸ β´ · ὑπάτοις, ἑλληνι|κῇ δὲ ἔτους · ξσ · σεβαστοῦ τοῦ καὶ · ϛο·τ · Πανήμου ει´. | εὐτυχεῖτε.
>
> To good fortune. For the sake of the health and well-being, victory and eternal reign of the great and divine and undefeated our lord imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius the Fortunate, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding the tribunician powers for the eight time [228-229 CE], Consul for the third time, Pater Patria, and for the sake of the most sacred our mother Iulia Mamaia Augusta, and of all their divine household, and the sacred Senate and the righteous praetorian prefects, the sacred armed forces, and the People of Rome: Valerianus Philoxenos the Macedoniarch and the high

[3] While Memmius Craterus could be read as a nomen-cognomen construct, Horseley 1994, 107 expresses uncertainty on whether four politarchs or more are referred here.

[4] Tod 1918-1919, 209-214, on the evidence for a "provincial era" that counted from the epoch of 148 BCE when Macedonia became a Roman province.

[5] *AE* 1974, 140-141 no. 430.

> priest of Augustus, the agonothete for the Alexandrian games of the Koinon of the Macedonians, and his wife Varleriana Ammia the high priestesss of Augusta, shall produce in Beroia the most glorious metropolis of Macedonia beast hunts and gladiatorial combat for three days. The liturgies shall begin before the 7th of the calands of July (June 25), dedicated to the Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius the Fortunate, when Augustus was thrice and Claudius Cassius Dio was twice consuls [Jan. 229 CE], in the Hellenic calendar the 260th year of the Augustan/Actian era and 376th year of the provincial era, on the 15th of Panemos. May you be fortunate.

This Beroian announcement for the spectacles of Valerianus Philoxenos and Valeriana Ammia opens with the invocation of imperial, military, and civilian authorities (ll. 1-9), followed by the preamble that outlines who was giving the games and for how long (ll. 9-13), and concluded with the announcement of the precise dates for the liturgies (ll. 14-17). We also find the familiar farewell εὐτυχεῖτε attached to the end of the inscription (l. 18). In this case, we know precisely that the high priest of the Macedonian Koinon was the giver of the shows: his name is given in the nominative, and the future indicative form of the word ἐπιτελέω ascribes the spectacles to his agency.[6]

There are several examples of gladiatorial announcements, or *invitationes ad munera* as is commonly referred, now available for comparison. Including the spectacles of the Valeriani we have another more lavish one from Beroia (*EKM* No. 69), which announced even more days of spectacles, and in Thessalonike there is *IG* X 2.1 141 first reported by Petros Papageorgiou in 1889,[7] along with several newly discovered announcements during the excavations of the theater, published in 1999 (*IG* X 2.1 Suppl. 1073-1076).[8] The third century examples were all discovered after Louis Robert published his important volume on gladiation in the Greek East, unfortunately, so we are unable to learn how Robert would incorporate these examples into his discussion of this particular genre. What Robert did have were second century CE examples, including the Herennia Hispana inscription that this paper is focused on, as well as an example from Nicopolis ad Istrum (*IG Bulg* II 660), which is given below:

> ἀγαθῇ τ[ύχῃ]. | ὑπὲρ τῆς τ[ῶ]ν Αὐτ̣[ο]κ̣ρατόρω[ν Μ(άρκου) Αὐρη]|λίου Ἀντωνε[ίνου Κα]ίσαρος Σεβ(αστοῦ) καὶ Λ(ουκίου) Αὐρηλίου [Οὐήρου] | Σεβ(αστοῦ) καὶ Φαυστ[είνης Σ]εβ(αστῆς) καὶ [τῶν παί]δων αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ σύ[μπαντος] || [αὐτῶν οἴκου τύχης καὶ σωτηρί]ας κα[ὶ αἰωνίο]υ̣ διαμονῆς ἱερᾶς τε συνκ[λήτου] | καὶ δ̣[ήμου Ῥωμαίων καὶ τοῦ λαμπροτά]τ̣ου {[κρατίσ]τ̣ου} ἡ̣[γεμόνο]ς̣ Ἀππίου Κλαυ[δίου] Μ̣α̣ρτ̣ι[άλ]ου πρεσβ[(ευτοῦ)] | Σεβ(αστῶν) ἀν̣τ[ιστρ]ατή̣γο̣υ βο[υ]λῆς τε καὶ δήμ[ου Οὐλπί]α̣ς

[6] Beroia EKM no. 69 ll. 7-9: ὁ μακεδονιάρχης καὶ ἀρχιερεὺ̣ς [τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἀγωνο]|θέτης ... Λ(ούκιος) Σε]|πτίμιος Ἰνστεϊανὸς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Αἰλ(ία) Ἀλεξάνδρα ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀρχιέρεια ἐπιτελέσ̣ο[υσιν ἐν τῇ] | λαμπροτάτῃ καὶ β´ νεωκόρῳ μητροπόλει τῆς Μακεδονίας Βεροιαίων πόλι κτλ.; *SEG* 49.816 ll. 6-8 [Κλαύδιος Ῥούφριος Μένων...] καὶ μακεδονιάρχης | καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης ... καὶ Βαιβία Μάγνα ἡ ἀξιολογωτάτη ἀρχιέρει[α ἐπιτελέσουσιν ἐν τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ Θεσσαλον]ικαίων μητροπόλει κτλ.; *SEG* 49.817 ll. 6-9 Τιβ(έριος) Κλ(αύδιος) Ῥούφριος Μένων ὁ κρ(άτιστος) ἱεροφάντης τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου θεοῦ Καβείρου καὶ διὰ βίου ἀγωνοθέτης [τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων] | καὶ μακεδονιάρχης καὶ β ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν ... καὶ Βαιβία Μάγνα ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀξ(ιολογωτάτη) μ[ακεδονιάρχι]σ̣σα καὶ · β · ἀρχιέρεια ἐπιτελέσουσιν [φιλοτιμί]αν ἐν τῇ λαμ|προτάτῃ Θεσσαλονικ[έ]ων μητροπόλει κτλ.

[7] Nigdelis 2015, 49; I thank the anonymous reader for this reference.

[8] Also see Veleni 1999 for the excavation report, and Adam-Veleni 2012 for the restored depictions of gladiatorial combat.

Ṇ[εικοπόλεως τῆς πρὸς] | Ἴστρον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς πόλεως [Μιν]ίκιος Ο[— — — — — — — — — — — — καὶ] | Μινικία Φιρμεῖνα θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ φιλότ[ε]ιμος [ἀρχιέρεια] ἐπιτε[λέσουσιν] || κυνήγια καὶ μονομαχίας [— — τῇ] ιβ´ καὶ τ[— — — — — — — — — — — — — —] | απο[— — — — — — — — —]

> To good fortune. For the sake of the Imperatores Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Caesar Augustus and Lucius Aelius Verus Augustus and Faustina Sebasta and their children and all of their household, for their fortune, safety, and eternal continuity, and for the sake of the sacred Senate and the People of Rome, and of the most glorious governor Appius Claudius Martialus the Legatus Propraetore Augusti, and for the sake of the Boule and the Demos of Ulpia Nikopolis ad Istrum, the highpriest of the city Minicius... and Minicia Firmina his daughter the honor-loving highpriestess, completed their charge of giving the beast hunt and gladiatorial spectacle on the 12th of (month) and...

Though heavily restored, this Nikopolitan inscription is clearly the same sort of inscription as those highlighted earlier – a gladiatorial invitation for the inhabitants of the community to prepare and partake in the celebrations.

Returning to the Herennia Hispana inscription, what first sets this Thessalonian announcement apart from those in Beroia and Nikopolis mentioned here is the absence of a highpriest or highpriestess – instead we have the imperatival infinitive εἰδέναι and the neuter future passive participle ἐπιτελεσθησόμενα. This method of rendering may be understood as to be purposely "prescribing a certain actional procedure."[9] Together, the combination introduces the procedural aspects of the boule and demos approving the testamentary gift and delegating its execution to the competent municipal authorities. In the Beroia and Nikopolitan announcements, the action of the macedoniarch and highpriest would be the ones bringing the hunt and the combat to completion, along with their respective consorts, who serve as highpriestesses. Therefore, use of the imperatival infinitive construction is marked: there was no specific *munerarius* when convention calls for it, and hence no direct agency for the public to focus on.

The rest of the announcement captures the indirect agency involved and extends the imperatival infinitive construction's markedness. Herennia's legacy is acknowledged but in a prepositional construct.[10] The administrative process for the spectacles is also tempered via the same ploy, with the *boule* and *demos* voting and delegating the responsibility of presenting the games to a college of politarchs presided by a high-priest, but none solely responsible.[11]

2. The Critical Apparatus for the Herennia Announcement

[9] For the use of the imperatival infinitive, see Allan 2010, 212-213.
[10] *IG* X 2.1 no. 137 ll. 7-8: ἐκ διαθηκῶν Ἑρεννί[...]ας Ἱσπανῆς κτλ.
[11] *IG* X 2.1 no. 137 ll. 9-13: κατὰ τὰ γενόμενα ὑπὸ τῆς κρατίσ[τῆς βουλ]ῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου ψηφίσματα, διὰ τῶν περὶ Τιβέριον Κλαύδον Κρίσπον τὸν ἀρχιερέα πολειταρχῶν κτλ. Heuzey 1876, 275. For the interpretation of the formula τῶν περὶ so-and-so πολιτάρχων as the presiding figure and the college of politarchs, see Horseley 1994, 116-117, Schuler 1960, 90.

To facilitate discussion on the issues with emending the Herennia announcement, we start by reviewing the critical apparatus as Edson prepared it (figure 2).

V. 1 Solus Heuzey vestigia legit || 2 Ο ΦΟCΚΑΙ CΑΡΙΤΙΤΩ ΑΙ ΛΙΑΔΡΙ Le Bas., ΑΤΟΡΟC · ΚΑΙ CΑΡΟCΤΙΤ . ΎΑΙ ΛΙ ΛΔΡΙ Heuzey, ϽCΤΙΓ . ΥΑΙΛΙ . ΑΔΡΙ Hog. Init. v. supplevit Robert || 3 ΑΝΟΥCЄΒΑCΤΟΥ ЄΥCЄΒΟΥ ΄CЄΒΟΥCCΩΤΗΡ. C ΚΑΙ CΤΩΤΗC/ΛΑΜ Le Bas., ЄΙΝΟΥ · CЄΒΑCΤΟΥ · ЄΥCЄΒΟΥC CΩΤΗΡΟCΚΑΙ Heuzey, ΄CЄΒΟΥCCΩΤΗΡ. C ΚΑΙ CΤΩΤΗC/ΛΑΜ Le Bas., ЄΙΝΟΥ · CЄΒΑCΤΟΥ · ЄΥCЄΒΟΥC CΩΤΗΡΟCΚΑΙ Hog., σωτηρ[ίας] Robert, quod revera in lapide erat (Papageorgiu l. c.) || 4 ΜΟΝΗC ΚΑΙ ΜΑΥΡΙΛΙΟΥ ΟΥ ΗΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ CΑΡΟC Le Bas., ΜΟΝΗC · ΚΑΙ · Μ · ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥ · ΟΥΗΡΟΥ. ΚΑΙ CΑΡΟC Heuzey, \ΙΟΥΟΥΗΡ . Υ ΗΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ CΑΡΟC Le Bas., ΜΟΝΗC · ΚΑΙ · Μ · ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥ · ΟΥΗΡΟΥ. ΚΑΙ CΑΡΟC Heuzey, \ΙΟΥΟΥΗΡ . Υ ΗΡΟΥ ΚΑΙCΑΙΡΟC Hog. Init. v. supplevit Robert, [αἰωνίου δια]μονῆς Heuzey || 5 ΤΩΝ CЄΒΑCΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΙЄΡΑC CΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΥΚΑΙ Le Bas, sic et Heuzey, qui tamen notas distinctionis addidit, ΙЄΡ\CCΥΓΚΛΗΤΟΥΚΑΙ Hog. Init. v. supplevit Heuzey || 5—6 [κατὰ ἐπιταγὴν τῆς] ἱερᾶς συγκλήτου καὶ [τοῦ δήμου τὰ ἀποτε]λεσθησόμενα Hog. || 6 ΑΙΩΝΕΙΔΕΝΑΙCΠΠЄΛЄΥΘΗCΟΜЄΝΑΚΥΝΗΓΙ Le Bas, ΑΙΩΝ · ЄΙΔЄΝΑΙЄΠΙΤЄΛЄCΘΗCΟΜЄΝΑ · ΚΥΝΗΓΙ/ Heuzey, \ЄCΘΗCΟΜЄΝΑΚΥΝΗΓΙ/ Hog. Init. v. supplevit Heuzey || 7 ΑΧΙΑΙC ΗΜЄΡΑΙC ΤΡΙCΙΝ ЄΚΔΙΔΟΗΚΩΝЄΡЄΝΝΙ Le Bas, ΑΧΙ\C · ΗΜЄΡΑΙC · ΤΡΙCΙΝ · ЄΚΔΙΑΘΗΚΩΝ · CΡCΝΝΙ Heuzey, ЄΚΔΙΑ ΘΗΚΩΝЄΡЄΝΝΙ Hog. Init. v. supplevit Hog. || 8 CΙCΠΑΝΗC ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑ ΓЄΝΟΜЄΝΑ ΥΠΟΤΗC ΚΡΑΤΙC Le Bas, sic et Heuzey, qui notas distinctionis addidit et vestigium litt. primae in init. v. \ legit, ϽΜЄΝΑ · ΥΠΟΤΗC ΚΡΑΤΙ(C) Hog. || 7—8 ʽΕρεννί[ας . . c. 8 . .]ας ʽΙσπανῆς Heuzey, sed quaerit Robert: '*Ne serait-il pas plutôt question d'un* ʼΕρεννί[ου], χειλιάρχου *ou* ἑκατοντάρχου *(en abrégé)* [σπείρ]ας ʽΙσπανῆς, *cohortis Hispanae?*' Vide et Sherk, *Am. Jour. Phil.* 78, 1957, 56 || 9 ΛΗC ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΥ ΨΗΦΙCΜΑΤΑ ΔΙΑ ΤΩΝΠЄΡΙ Le Bas, sic et Heuzey, qui tamen in init. v. ⊣C legit et notas distinctionis addidit, ΛΑΤΑ · ΔΙΑΤΩΝΠⅬΡΙ Hog. Init. v. supplevit Heuzey || 10 ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΝ ΚΡΙCΠΟΝ ΤΟΝΑΡΧΙЄΡЄΑ · ΠΟΛЄΙΤΑΡΧ Le Bas, ΚΛΛΥΔ Ν · ΚΡΙCΠΟΝ · ΤΟΝΑΡΧΙЄΡЄΑ · ΠΟΛЄΙΤΑΡ\ Heuzey, \ΙЄΡЄΑ · ΠΟΛЄΙΙΑΡ . . . . Hog. Init. v. supplevit Heuzey. Ti. Claudius Crispus alius est atque ille Ti. Claudius Priscus, qui in tit. Beroeaeo (Oliver, Hesperia 10, 1941, 369—70), epistula imperatoris Hadriani de rebus concilii provincialis, invenitur || 11 ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΜЄΜΜΙΟΥ ΚΡΑ ΤЄΡΟΥ ΡΟΥΘΟΥ Le Bas, sic et Heuzey, qui tamen lectionem bonam ΡΟΥΦΟΥ praebet et notas distinctionis addidit, ϽΥΚΡΑΤЄΡΟΥ · ΡΥ/ΦΟΥ Hog. || 10—11 Supplevi. πολειταρχ|[ούντων] Heuzey, contra distinctionem usitatam syllabarum, πολειταρχ[ούντ]|[ων – –] Hog., πολειτάρ|[χων] Robert, qui litt. χεῖ in fin. v. 10 ab edd. omnibus visam neglexit. In. v. 11 supplevit Papazoglu [Σωτᾶ τοῦ] vel [Κλαυδίου]. Mea quidem sententia in init. v. casus genetivus nominis gentilici supplendus est. In fin. v. articulum supplevi || 12 ΦΟΥ ΜΑΡ ΧΟΥ ΤΟΥΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΥC ΑΡΞЄΤΑΙΔЄ ΤΑ ΚΥΝΗ Le Bas, ϽΥ · ΜΑΡΚΟΥ . ΤΟΥΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΥC ΑΡΞЄΤΑΙΔЄ · ΤΛ ΚΙΝΗ Heuzey, ΑΡΞЄΤΑΙΔЄ · ΤΑΚ . ΝΗ Hog. Init. v. supplevi || 13 ΑΙΜΟΝΟΜΑΧΙΑΙ ΠΡΟ ΙΖ ΚΑΛΑΝΔΩΝ ΑΠΑCΙΛΙΟΝ ЄΛΛΙ Le Bas, ΜΟΝΟΜΑΧΙΑΙ · ΤΗΠΡΟΙΖΚΑΛΑΝΔΩΝ · ΑΠΙCΙΛΙΩΝ · ЄΛΛΙΙ Heuzey, ΛΩΝ . Α Γ . CΙΛΙ(Ω)Ν · ЄΛΛΙΙ Hog., qui ʼΑγ[α]σιλίων? ʽΕλλη . . legit || 14 ЄΞΑΝΔΙΚΟΥΔЄΥΤЄΡΑ · ΤΟΥΘΠC ЄΤΟΥC ЄΥΤΥΧЄ Le Bas, ΑΝΔΙΚΟΥΔЄΥΤЄΡΑ · ΤΟΥΘΠCЄΤΟΥC · ЄΥΤΥΧCΙΤC Heuzey, ϽΥCCΥΤΥ(ΧЄΙΤCΡ)? Hog. Annus est aerae provincialis || 13—14 Supplevi e titt. Beroeaeis ineditis. ʽΕλλη|[νες Ξ]ανδικοῦ Heuzey, ʽΕλλη . . |[νικός? – –] Hog., ἑλλη|[νιστὶ Ξ]ανδικοῦ Robert, qui hoc supplementum Wilhelmo tribuit. Hi vv. magni pretii sunt, quia demonstrant fastos Macedonicos medio s. II p. cum fastis Romanis nondum congruisse. Vide Tod, loc. cit. || 15 ЄΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΩΗΧΟΗ Le Bas, Ι · ΤΟΥΤΩΝΠΡΩΤΩΣ · ΗΧΟΗ · Heuzey, ΧΟΗ? Hog., [ʼΕπ]ὶ τούτων supplevit Heuzey.

Figure 2. Critical Aparatus for *IG* X 2.1 no. 137, 55-56.

The critical apparatus provides readers with three draft copies by Philippe Le Bas, Léon Heuzey, and David Hogarth respectively. Some of the recorded lines are in exact agreement (ll. 5, 8-9, 11), while others show minor discrepancies in spelling and orthography. Heuzey's copy is the most informative of the three: interpuncts and breaks between words are consistently represented, while orthography received detailed treatment. One example is what Heuzey called the "uncial"-style *mu* that can be found throughout the announcement, and so too the careful differentiation of the "square" characters of line 15. There we also see a four-bar *sigma,* strikingly different from the lunate *sigma* used consistently in the announcement. There are apparent issues with accuracy in Le Bas' draft copy when compared with Heuzey's. Le Bas has ΟΦΟC in line 2, versus Heuzey's ΑΤΟΡΟC (αὐτοκρ]άτορος), and CΠΠΕΛΕΥΘΗCOMENA in line 6, versus Heuzey's ΕΠΙΤΕΛΕCΘΗCOMENA (ἐπιτελεσθησόμενα); in line 7 Le Bas has ΕΚΔΙΔΟΗΚΩΝ versus

Heuzey's ΕΚΔΙΑΘΗΚΩΝ (ἐκ διαθήκων), and line 11 has ΡΟΥΘΟΥ versus Heuzey's ΡΟΥΦΟΥ (Ῥούφου). We note that contributions from Hogarth's text do not appear until the fourth line; it also tends to confirm the right half of Heuzey's reading when the letters are relatively intact.

While Heuzey's reading is observedly superior, it is not accepted absolutely in the *IG* entry. An apparent example is in line 13, where we find two line-capped Greek numerals and the word "calends" (καλανδῶν). Here one also expects the name of the Roman month to complete the formulaic notation that marks the exact date on which the festivities shall be first inaugurated. Le Bas has ΑΠΑCΙΛΙΟΝ while Hezuey has ΑΠΙCΙΛΙΩΝ; the *IG* settled for ΑΠΡΕΙΛΙΩΝ (Ἀπρειλίων). Conceivably, the Greek inscriber may have committed an error on a Latin term, missing the critical *rho*. As for the lunate *sigma* noted by Le Bas and Heuzey, we could assume an *epsilon* with its center bar lost. Hogarth's alternative suggested Ἀγασιλίων, but the linguistic context expects a Roman month.

Also not accepted in the *IG* entry is σωτῆρος in line 3. Daux's treatment of the Herennia Hispana inscription in his 1972 and 1973 papers focused only on lines 6 to 15, and hence of little relevance in the upcoming discussions. That said, his acknowledgment of Papageorgiou is a notable detail.[12] As we learn from the critical apparatus and other sources, Petros Papageorgiou commented on this inscription in 1889, claiming that σωτῆρος in Duchesne's reprint of the Herennia Hispana inscription was in fact σωτηρίας.[13] However, this is a surprising claim. While Le Bas read CΤΩΤΗCΛΜ, we know he printed σωτῆρος, as Duchesne made clear (hereon we will refer to this text as the Le Bas-Duchesne text).[14] Heuzey's reading is even more secure, and he printed σωτῆρος as well. As for Hogarth, who, according to how the *IG* entry presented his findings, saw the stone in a more deteriorated state, printed]σεβοῦς σωτηρ[.]ς, giving space to only one letter. Interestingly, the *IG* entry did not consult the actual paper that Papageoriou wrote, but rather relied upon a short statement from the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*.[15] From what we have from the *IG*'s critical apparatus, there seems much in doubt about what Papageorgiou actually saw.

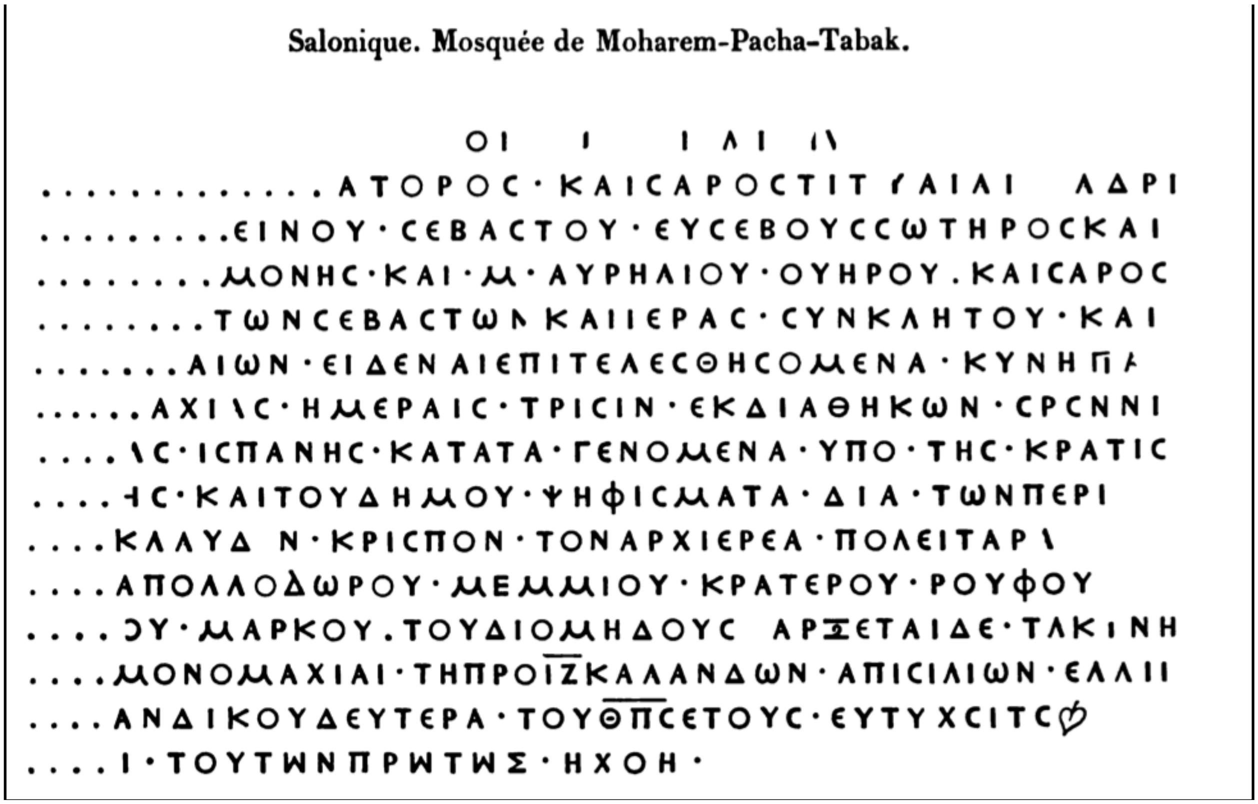
Briefly summing up the observations above, the IG entry's report of the differences observable among draft copies indicates that the stone of the text deteriorated significantly by the time Hogarth carried out his autopsy. This fact was briefly stated in the introductory section of the *IG* entry: what Hogarth saw was only the right section of the original inscription (*solam partem dextram tituli*). Also, the same introduction made it clear that the editor, while being unable to assess Papagiorgiou's claim directly, suppressed σωτῆρος. In the following, we examine the reports by Heuzey, Hogarth, and Papageorgiou to contextualize the problem with σωτῆρος versus σωτηρίας in historical perspective.

3. A Historical Perspective on the Emendation of *IG* X 2.1 137

Heuzey's encounter with the stone was published in 1874, and at that time the stone was still "built

[12] Daux 1972, 489:
[13] Dimitsas 1896, 430.
[14] Duchesne 1877, 10.
[15] Belger & Seyffert 1889, 330.

into a subsidiary building of the Mosque Moharem-Pacha-Tabak" in Thessalonike.[16] Heuzey is particularly attentive to detailed visual representation, both in terms of the inscribed letters and the inscribed field, as shown in figure 3. We can gather from Heuzey's draft copy that he saw a rectangular stone slab with 15 lines of inscribed text of approximately 40 letters per line. The first line is almost entirely lost except for several strokes of letters in the center, and the second line is missing approximately 13 letters, followed by a decreasing amount of damage to the left side of the stone. The illustration also keeps track of orthographical differences, as mentioned previously, and this is quite important, for it speaks to the degree of diligence that Heuzey paid in making sure what can or cannot be seen. All lines were inscribed in what Heuzey chose to describe as an "uncial" font, except the last line, where the execution was in "square" letters. The lunate *sigma* in the first 14 lines versus the four-bar *sigma* in πρωτῶς of line 15 is all the more significant, as it highlights Heuzey's intentional approach to distinguish between different letterforms.


Salonique. Mosquée de Moharem-Pacha-Tabak.

OI I I Λ I I\
.............ΑΤΟΡΟϹ·ΚΑΙϹΑΡΟϹΤΙΤ ΓΑΙΑΙ ΑΔΡΙ
.........ЄΙΝΟΥ·ϹЄΒΑϹΤΟΥ·ЄΥϹЄΒΟΥϹϹωΤΗΡΟϹΚΑΙ
........ΜΟΝΗϹ·ΚΑΙ·Μ·ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥ·ΟΥΗΡΟΥ.ΚΑΙϹΑΡΟϹ
........ΤωΝϹЄΒΑϹΤωΝ ΚΑΙΙЄΡΑϹ·ϹΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΥ·ΚΑΙ
.......ΑΙωΝ·ЄΙΔЄΝΑΙЄΠΙΤЄΛЄϹΘΗϹΟΜЄΝΑ·ΚΥΝΗΠΛ
......ΑΧΙ\Ϲ·ΗΜЄΡΑΙϹ·ΤΡΙϹΙΝ·ЄΚΔΙΑΘΗΚωΝ·ϹΡϹΝΝΙ
....\Ϲ·ΙϹΠΑΝΗϹ·ΚΑΤΑΤΑ·ΓЄΝΟΜЄΝΑ·ΥΠΟ·ΤΗϹ·ΚΡΑΤΙϹ
....ΗϹ·ΚΑΙΤΟΥΔΗΜΟΥ·ΨΗΦΙϹΜΑΤΑ·ΔΙΑ·ΤωΝΠЄΡΙ
....ΚΛΛΥΔ Ν·ΚΡΙϹΠΟΝ·ΤΟΝΑΡΧΙЄΡЄΑ·ΠΟΛЄΙΤΑΡ\
....ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔωΡΟΥ·ΜЄΜΜΙΟΥ·ΚΡΑΤЄΡΟΥ·ΡΟΥΦΟΥ
....ϽΥ·ΜΑΡΚΟΥ.ΤΟΥΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΥϹ ΑΡΞЄΤΑΙΔЄ·ΤΑΚΙΝΗ
....ΜΟΝΟΜΑΧΙΑΙ·ΤΗΠΡΟΙΖΚΑΛΑΝΔωΝ·ΑΠΙϹΙΛΙωΝ·ЄΛΛΙΙ
....ΑΝΔΙΚΟΥΔЄΥΤЄΡΑ·ΤΟΥΘΠϹЄΤΟΥϹ·ЄΥΤΥΧϹΙΤϹ
....Ι·ΤΟΥΤWΝΠΡWΤWΣ·ΗΧΟΗ·

Figure 3. Drawing of the Herennia Hispana Inscription in Heuzey 1887, p. 274.

Hogarth's draft copy published in 1887, as shown below (Figure 4), is particularly important, because it adopted a similar method of visual presentation with particular emphasis on orthographical features, and it can be used to cross-examine what Heuzey saw. Furthermore, Hogarth reported the location, which is in the courtyard of the Konak and not built into an ancillary building of a mosque, and he gave measurements. We learn that the size of the "limestone slab" was approximately 75 cm high and 45 cm in width, with "fairly neat letters 25 mm high."[17]

[16] Heuzey 1876, 273: "Une des plus importantes est l'inscription des jeux d'Hérennia, encastrée dans une construction dépendant de la mosquée de Moharem-Pacha-Tabak."
[17] Hogarth 1887, 361.

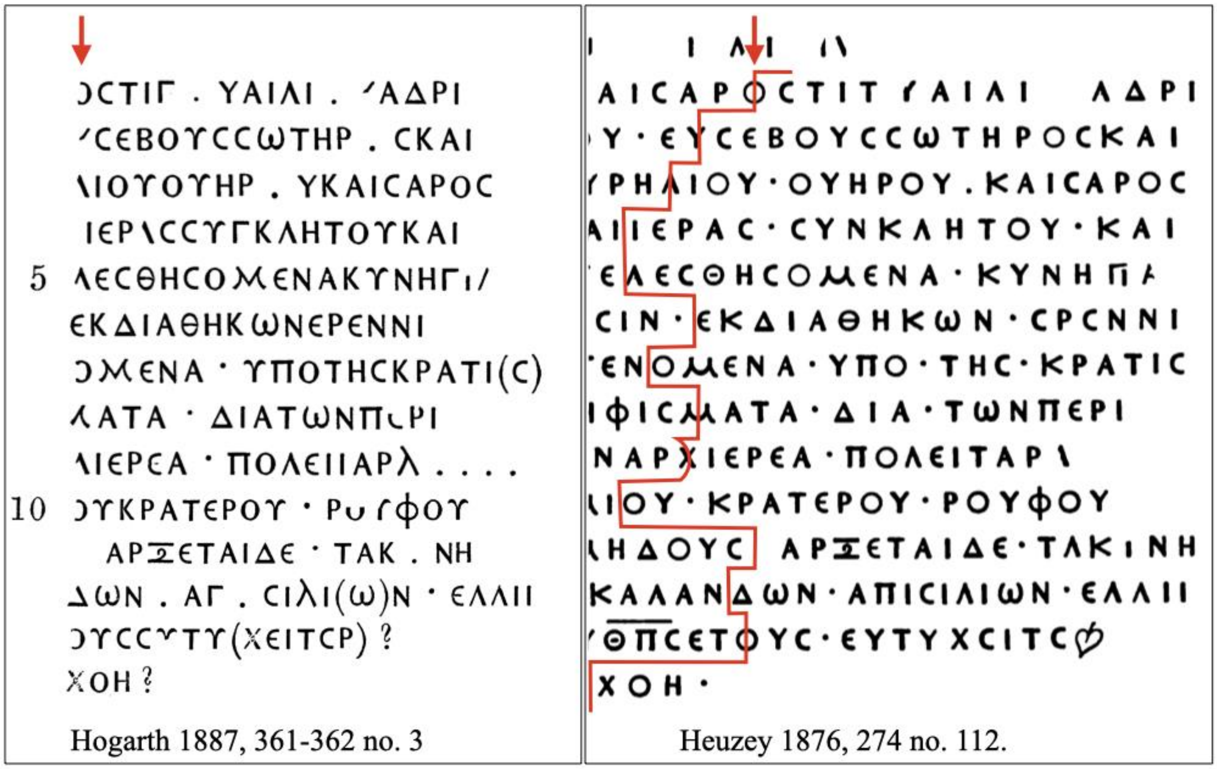


Figure 4. The draft copies of Hogarth and Heuzey compared.

We now come to a rather difficult question: was Hogarth examining the same stone as Heuzey? Hogarth spoke of his stone's left side being broken, and "the cleanness of the fracture" to the left side leads him to suspect that there was another adjoining piece of the stone slab.[18] This is an opportunity to test how the two draft copies could match, assuming that each paid due diligence to recording the letter and line spacing in relation to the physical stone. Surprisingly, if we try to match letter by letter, the result is a jagged edge. Margarites Dimitsas first suggested in 1896 that, while it is possible to conjecture that the stone which Hogarth saw was brought to the Konak from its original location where Heuzey saw it, a second possibility is that there were multiple copies of the same text.[19] The visual comparison here makes his second theory worth considering. Orthographically, while Hogarth's *mu* and *xi* are identical with Heuzey's, Hogarth rendered the upper strokes of his *upsilons* as curled, while Heuzey rendered them as straight lines. Also, the two *thetas* in lines 6-7 are rendered round in Heuzey, but one has a half-bar, the other a full bar, while Hogarth gave two identical, ovular *thetas*. Furthermore, since both Hogarth and Heuzey emphasized interpuncts and letter spacing, the discrepancies in where the interpuncts appear in

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[18] Hogarth 1887, 362.

[19] Dimitsas 1896, 430: "τὸν λίθον, ἐφ᾽ οὗ ἐγγεγραμμένη ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπιγραφή, εὗρεν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ διοικητηρίου (κονακίου), ἀλλ᾽ ἀπήντησε προσκόμματα κατὰ τὴν ἀντιγραφήν, ἐξ ἧς καταφαίνεται ὅτι τὸ ἀριστερὸν μέρος λίαν τεθραυσμένον καὶ ἀποκεκομμένον, τοῦ ὁποίου ὀλίγα μόνον μέρη ἠδυνήθη νὰ συμπληρώσῃ" (he (Hogarth) found the stone, upon which the inscription was engraved, in the courtyard of the governor's mansion (the Konak), but he came across obstacles with regard to the impression, from which it seems that a considerable part of the left side was broken and hewn off, of which sort of damage that only a small part (of the text) was filled in). This description comes from Hogarth 1887, 361-362.

lines 4-7 of the two illustrations further suggests that there may have been two inscriptions of perhaps the same text.

While between Heuzey's and Hogarth's stones there remains some doubt on how directly connected they are, the same cannot be said of the stone encounted by Papageorgiou, which he clearly stated as to have been in the Konak, and was half of the Le Bas-Duchesne text. Papageorgiou's full account of his encounter with the Herennia Hispana inscription is included in the second piece of his short notices published in the journal *Aristoteles* on recently rediscovered stones at the time that could corroborate Abbot Duchesne's epigraphic compendium published in 1877. In closing his study of what is now *IG* X 2.1 141, one could sense his particular enthusiasm in the scientifice nature of the study of epigraphy, for what was previously reported can still be confirmed when the stones are re-discovered.[20]

> τὴν μεγάλην ἀξίαν τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς μαρτυρεῖ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι τρεῖς μόναι εὑρέθησαν ὅμοιαι ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ, κατακεχωρισμέναι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κ. Duchesne ἐν σελ. 10 καὶ 11 τοῦ βιβλίου αὐτοῦ· ἡ πρώτη αὐτῶν σῴζεται καὶ νυν ἔτι ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ διοικητηρίου κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ μόνον καὶ ὁ βουλόμενος δύναται νὰ ἀναγνώσῃ αὐτήν· ἐν παρόδῳ παρατηρῶ ὅτι ἐν τῷ β΄ στίχῳ αὐτῆς ἀνέγνων καθαρώτατον ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ καὶ οὐχὶ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ὅπως κεῖται κακῶς παρὰ τῷ κ. Duchesne.
>
> On the great value of epigraphy the proof is this: three unique, identical items discovered in Thessalonike that had been previously recorded by Duchesne in pages 10 and 11 of his book: the first of which, now in the courtyard of the Dioikitirio (Konak/the governor's mansion in Thessalonike), survives, down to only half, and whoever takes interest can examine it; I make an observation in passing that in line 2 of the stone I recognize most clearly ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ and not ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ as set down erroneously by Duchesne.

Much of the same lines were reported by Dimitsas verbatim,[21] and this short article was also summarized in the March edition of *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, which became what Edson used to support his emendation of Heuzey's edition.[22]

While Papageorgiou is an experienced and highly regarded epigraphist, the fact that he did not provide an illustration or a dedicated study of what he claimed to have "most clearly see" creates questions on the credibility of his claim. He saw the stone in the Konak, and the stone was down to half – this must have been the stone Hogarth encountered two years earlier. How would it be possible for Papageorgiou to have seen "clearly" what Hogarth clearly indicated as illegible?

Despite the fact that Papageorgiou did not provide supporting evidence to demonstrate that his observations were in fact correct, his claim became widely accepted. Ernest Burton, for example, was convinced that "Heuzey's text seems to be at every point preferable, unless it be at the

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[20] I thank Professor Pandelis Nigdelis for making available Papageorgiou's reprinted articles in Nigdelis 2015, 47-49, and I am grateful to the anonymous reader for providing this reference.

[21] Dimitsas 1896, 430.

[22] Belger & Seyffert 1889, 330: "Papageorg bemerkt noch, daß in der von Duchesne in seinem Buche über die Altertumer von Thessalonike S. 10 No. 11 veröffentlichen Inschrift (Zeile 2) σωτηρίας (statt σωτῆρος) auf dem Steine stehe" (Papageorgios remarked still that in Duchesne's volume on the antiquities from Thessalonike, he saw from the stone that line 2 of the printed inscription on page 10 No. 11 is σωτηρίας (instead of σωτῆρος)).

beginning," because "according to Dimitsas...P. Papageorgios testifies from personal examination that in line 2 (Heuzey's line 3) the next to last word is clearly σωτηρίας, not Σωτῆρος."[23] Louis Robert, in the catalogue for his *Les gladiateurs dans l'orient grec*, also supplied σωτηρ[ία]ς, though he noted in the critical apparatus that σωτῆρος is generally reported.[24] The weight of such scholarly opinion seemed to have been so convincing that Edson's *IG* entry stated that Papageorgiou's reading has been "affirmed on the stone" (*reuera in lapide est*), rejecting Hogarth and Heuzey outright despite not having at all considered the potential risks in preferring Papageorgiou's word without any other evidence. Even Georges Daux noted that Papageorgiou was "le dernier helléniste qui ait interrogé la pierre ou du moins qui ait fait connaître ses observations (en 1889)" and have contributed to the "amélioration d'autre part dans les restitutions,"[25] though there is every reason to believe that the conflict with studies by Heuzey and Hogarth ought to place Papageorgiou's claim under more scrutiny and not less.

To sum up this section, I first acknowledge that there is a great risk in challenging established opinions, especially when those opinions are endorsed consecutively by distinguished epigraphists. However, it must be emphasized that, when we consider the studies concerning the Herennia Hispana inscription in sequence, there is clear evidence that the stone underwent a process of deterioration between 1870 and 1889 that must be taken into account before taking Papageorgiou's observation as matter of fact.

> 1) Le Bas was the first scholar in the scholarly literature to have studied the inscription, with his study published in 1870. While Le Bas originally read ΣΩΤΗCΛΑΝ, he printed ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, and later the inscription became known among epigraphist circles following Duchesne's reprinting of it in 1876.
>
> 2) Heuzey was the second scholar to have seen the stone before Hogarth and Papageorgiou. His study of the stone was published in 1876, the same year as the Les Bas-Duchesne text that was cited by in Papageorgiou's short article published thirteen years later. The stone was in 1876 built into an ancillary building of the Mosque de Moharem-Pacha-Tabak, not the Konak where Hogarth and Papageorgiou saw it. According to Heuzey's illustration, the inscription was in relatively good state.
>
> 3) Hogarth's study of the stone was in 1887, and by this time only half of the stone remains, and the inscribed surface was a good deal weather-worn. The fact that Hogarth printed a dot between the rho and the sigma of ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ instead of a half-letter (which he does with every line when traces of letters remain) indicates that it is impossible for any letter to be read, at least certainly not "most clearly."
>
> 4) Now we come to Papageorgiou, who claimed to have seen the same stone as that was preserved in Duchesne. His encounter with this stone was 2-3 years later than Hogarth and 13 years later than Heuzey's publication. Papageorgiou stated that he saw the stone in the courtyard of the Konak (ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ διοικητηρίου) – not in the same location where Heuzey first saw it. The stone is now down to only half (κατὰ τὸ ἥμισου μόνον) of what

[23] Burton 1898, 607.
[24] Robert 1971, 78.
[25] Daux 1972, 489.

he associates with Duchesne's re-print of Le Bas' study. Also, his encounter with the stone does not account to a complete and meticulous study, as he himself stated: he did so cursorily (ἐν παροδῳ).

The four different readings must be viewed in chronological sequence: Le Bas -- Heuzey --Hogarth -- Papageorgiou. With the stone's deterioration by the time of Hogarth's reading, and given Hogarth's diligence in studying the stone, as well as his personal training and expertise, there is little reason to discredit Hogarth's reading. Of course, Papageorgiou's distinguished career must also be respected, and his claim to have seen ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ clearly should not be taken lightly.[26] However, he also made clear that his observation was done "cursorily" (ἐν παροδῳ). In the scholarly literature we can also find various claims of having been able to "see clearly" certain letters, such as the debate over the name of the archon in the Egesta degree that went back and forth for quite a while, before Angelos Matthaiou set the debate to rest (mostly). Taking Papageorgiou's claim over the published studies of Heuzey and Hogarth is also questionable due to their apparently diligent work in providing illustrations that are essentially analyses of what can or cannot be clearly read. That said, Antoninus Pius is not known to have been declared Savior in Macedonia, and in the first section we have seen that σωτηρίας is a commonly invoked salutary vocabulary. Is there any reason to not restore σωτηρίας?

4. Restoring the preamble

In this section we are mostly concerned with the question of how the preamble of the Herennia Hispana inscription ought to be restored, if not σωτηρ[ία]ς καὶ | [τύχης καὶ δια]μονῆς, as proposed by Louis Robert, and accepted by Edson (henceforth the Robert-Edson estoration).[27] Le Bas, Duchesne, and Heuzey suggest σωτῆρος καὶ | [αἰωνίου δια]μονῆς, but letter spacing and the καί present problems. The first question then, is whether αἰωνίου διαμονής was an accepted form of salutation without σωτηρίας and other accompanying combinations. The second question is to find examples of τύχης καὶ διαμονῆς to observe how this combination was used in the epigraphical record.

A database approach is taken to identify any examples from the PHI database that included formulae based on αἰωνίου διαμονῆς, since, as what comes before ΜΟΝΗΣ lies at the heart of the restoration work for *IG* X 2.1 137. For the first question on the combinations associated with αἰωνίου διαμονής, there are a total of 69 inscriptions in 11 combinations with a diachronical spread from the first to the fourth centuries CE. The distribution chart of the inscriptions in chronological order is in the appendix, and here we list the 11 combinations and their example count.

1. σωτηρίας + αἰωνίου διαμονῆς x 6
2. νείκης + αἰωνίου διαμονῆς x 15
3. ὑγείας + αἰωνίου διαμονῆς x 3
4. αἰωνίου διαμονῆς x 7
5. τύχης + αἰωνίου διαμονῆς x 1
6. τύχης + σωτηρίας + αἰωνίου διαμονῆς x 2

[26] I thank the anonymous reviewer for stressing this point.
[27] Robert 1971, 78.

7. τύχης + νείκης + αἰωνίου διαμονῆς x 16
8. νείκης + ὑγείας + αἰωνίου διαμονῆς x 4
9. σωτηρίας + νείκης + αἰωνίου διαμονῆς x 7
10. ὑγείας + σωτηρίας + νίκης + αἰωνίου διαμονῆς x 6
11. ὑγιείας + σωτηρίας + τύχης + νίκης + αἰωνίου διαμονῆς x 1

Our focus is naturally on combination 4 – the singular use of αἰωνίου διαμονῆς without other accompanying salutary vocabulary, since this is what was printed by Heuzey. This combination has six examples, listed below:

1) *IGBulg* V 5636 ANTONINUS PIUS 138-161 CE
ἀγαθῆι τύχηι. | **ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν | αἰωνίου διαμονῆς** | καὶ ·ἱ·ερᾶς · συνκλήτου || καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων | ἡγεμονεύ[ο]ντος | Μ(άρκου) Ἀντωνίου Ζήνωνος, | ἐπιτρόπου τοῦ | Σεβ(αστοῦ) · Κλωδίου Παυλείνου, || ἐπὶ ἐπάρχου Οὐαριανοῦ | Θεοκρίτου · Ἕλληνες οἱ | κατοικοῦντες ἐν Καβύ|λῃ Ἡρακλέα Ἀγοραῖον κα̣|τεσκεύασαν καὶ ἀφιέρωσ̣α̣ν̣ || προνοήσαντος τῆς κα[τασκευ]|ῆς Ναρκίσσου Ζήνων[ος] | Περινθίου · Στατειλίῳ Μα[ξίμῳ] | καὶ Λολλιανῷ Ἀουείτῳ ὑπά[τοις]. | Ἰούλιος ἔγραψα.

2) Hermoupolis Magna 12 MARCUS AURELIUS 161-180 CE
Ἀγαθῆι Τύχηι. | **ὑπὲρ Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων | [Μάρ]κου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου [κα]ὶ | ⟦[Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου]⟧ Σεβασ[τῶν], || [Ἀρμε]νιακῶν, Μηδικῶν, Παρθικῶν, [Γερ]|[μαν]ικῶν, Σαρ[μα]τικῶν μεγίστων [α]ἰ[ω]|[νίο]υ διαμονῆ[ς]** καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος | [αὐτῶν οἴκου ἐπὶ Τ(ίτου) Πα]κτουμηίου Μάγνου | [ἐπάρχου Αἰγύπτου], ἐπιστρατηγοῦν̣τ̣ο̣[ς]

3) IGR I,5 1145 MARCUS AURELIUS 161-180 CE
ἀγαθῆι τύχηι. | **ὑπὲρ Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων | [Μάρ]κου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου [κα]ὶ | ⟦[Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου]⟧ Σεβασ[τῶν] || [Ἀρμε]νιακῶν Μηδικῶν Παρθικῶν Γερ|μανικῶν Σαρ[μα]τικῶν Μεγίστων [α]ἰ[ω]νίο|υ διαμονῆ[ς]** καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος | [αὐτῶν οἴκου ἐπὶ Τ(ίτου) Πα]κτουμηίου Μάγνου
[ἐπάρχου Αἰγύπτου], ἐπιστρατηγοῦντο[ς — — —]

4) Marek, Kat. Pompeiopolis 9 COMMODUS 181-196 CE
ἀγαθ[ῇ τύχῃ]· | **[ὑπὲρ Αὐ]τοκράτορος [θεοῦ] | [Μ. Αὐρηλίο]υ Ἀντωνείν[ου] [υἱοῦ, Λ. Αὐ]ρηλίου Κομ[μό]||[δου καὶ] τοῦ σύμπαντ[ος αὐ]|[τοῦ οἴκου αἰ]ωνίου δια[μονῆς],** | [οἱ ἐνκριθέν]τες ἐν τῇ κατ[αστα]|[θείσῃ ὑπὸ(?) Κλ. Σεο]υήρου το[ῦ πάτρω]|[νος ἐφηβείᾳ ἐν τῇ] μητροπό[λει τῆς] || [Παφλαγονίας Πομ]πηϊοπόλει [ἔφη]|[βοι σὺν] τῷ Κλ. [Θεοδώρῳ —?—]

5) Marek, Kat. Pompeiopolis 10 COMMODUS 181-196 CE
[ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ]· | **[ὑπὲρ Αὐτοκράτορος θεοῦ Μ. Αὐ]|[ρηλίου Ἀντωνείνου υἱοῦ, Λ. Αὐ]|[ρηλίου Κομμόδου] καὶ τοῦ σ<ύ>ν|[παντος αὐτοῦ οἴκου αἰων]ίου διαμονῆς** | [οἱ ἐνκριθέντ]ες ἐν τῇ κατασταθείσῃ | [ὑπὸ Κλ. Σεουή]ρου τοῦ πάτρωνος ἐφηβείᾳ | [ἐν τῇ μητροπόλ]ει τῆς Παφλαγονίας Π[ομ]|[πηϊοπόλει σὺν τῷ] Κλ. Θεοδώρῳ ἔφ[ηβοι(?)]

6) IGBulg IV 2002 241-244 CE GORDINANUS III
ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. **ὑ̣πὲρ | [αἰωνί]ο̣υ̣ διαμονῆς τοῦ θειοτά|του [Αὐτοκρά]τορος Μ(άρκου) Ἀντονείου {Ἀντωνίου} | Γορδ[ιανο]ῦ Ε̣ὐσεβ(οῦς) καὶ θεοφιλεστ||[άτ]η̣ς Τ̣[ρ]α̣νκυλλείνης [συμβίου] | τοῦ αὐτοῦ Αὐτοκράτ̣ο̣ρο̣ς**, | [ἡγ]εμονεύοντος τῆς Θ̣ρ[α̣κῶν] | ἐπαρχείας Πομπωνίου Μ̣α̣γ̣[ια]|νο[ῦ] πρ(εσβευτοῦ) Σεβ(αστοῦ) ἀντιστρατήγου, || ἡ Σερδων πόλις τὸ μίλιον.

It is notable that the six examples above are predominantly from the Antonine period, with the first example from the reign of Antoninus Pius. There is also an interesting unity in the postposition of the phrase αἰωνίου διαμονῆς for the Antonine period examples, underlined below:

1) *IGBulg* V 5636 [138-161 CE]: ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν | αἰωνίου διαμονῆς κτλ.

2) Hermoupolis Magna 12 1[61-180 CE]: ὑπὲρ Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων | [Μάρ]κου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου [κα]ὶ | ⟦[Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου]⟧ Σεβασ[τῶν], || [Ἀρμε]νιακῶν, Μηδικῶν, Παρθικῶν, [Γερ]|[μαν]ικῶν, Σαρ[μα]τικῶν μεγίστων [α]ἰ[ω]|[νίο]υ διαμονῆ[ς] κτλ.

3) IGR I,5 1145[161-180 CE]: ὑπὲρ Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων | [Μάρ]κου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου [κα]ὶ | ⟦[Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου]⟧ Σεβασ[τῶν] || [Ἀρμε]νιακῶν Μηδικῶν Παρθικῶν Γερ|μανικῶν Σαρ[μα]τικῶν Μεγίστων [α]ἰ[ω]νίο|υ διαμονῆ[ς] κτλ.

4) Marek, Kat. Pompeiopolis 9 [181-196 CE]: [ὑπὲρ Αὐ]τοκράτορος [θεοῦ] | [Μ. Αὐρηλίο]υ Ἀντωνείν[ου] | [υἱοῦ, Λ. Αὐ]ρηλίου Κομ[μό]||[δου καὶ] τοῦ σύμπαντ[ος αὐ]||[τοῦ οἴκου αἰ]ωνίου δια[μονῆς] κτλ.

5) Marek, Kat. Pompeiopolis 10 [181-196 CE]: [ὑπὲρ Αὐτοκράτορος θεοῦ Μ. Αὐ]||[ρηλίου Ἀντωνείνου υἱοῦ, Λ. Αὐ]||[ρηλίου Κομμόδου] καὶ τοῦ σ<ύ>ν||[παντος αὐτοῦ οἴκου αἰων]ίου διαμονῆς κτλ.

when contrasted with the third century inscription of Gordianus III,

6) ὑπὲρ | [αἰωνί]ο̣υ̣ διαμονῆς τοῦ θειοτά|του [Αὐτοκρά]τορος Μ(άρκου) Ἀντονείου {Ἀντωνίου} | Γορδ[ιανο]ῦ Ε̣ὐσεβ(οῦς) καὶ θεοφιλεστ||[άτ]η̣ς Τ̣[ρ]α̣νκυλλείνης [συμβίου] | τοῦ αὐτοῦ Αὐτοκράτ̣ο̣ρο̣ς κτλ.

as well as the three third century CE *invitationes ad munera* from Beroia and Thessalonike:

7) EKM 68 [229 CE]: ἀγαθῆι τύχηι. | ὑπὲρ ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ νίκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς τοῦ με|γίστου καὶ θειοτάτου καὶ ἀηττήτου κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσα|ρος Μ(άρκου) Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου [Ἀλεξάνδρου] εὐσεβοῦς, εὐτυχοῦς, Σεβαστοῦ κτλ.

8) EKM 69 [240 CE]: ἀγαθῆι τύχηι | ὑπ[ὲ]ρ ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ νίκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς το[ῦ θειοτάτου καὶ] | μεγίστου καὶ ἀνεικήτου Αὐτ[ο]κράτορος Καίσαρος

Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Γ[ορδιανοῦ εὐσεβοῦς], | εὐτυχοῦς, Σεβαστοῦ, ἀρχιερέως μεγίστου, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ Γ, ὑπάτου, | π(ατρὸς) π(ατρίοδος) κτλ.

9) IG X Suppl. 1073 [252 CE]: ἀγαθῆι τύχηι | ὑπὲρ ὑγείας καῖ σωτηρίας καὶ νίκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμο[νῆς τ]ῶν κ[υ]ρίων ἡμῶν μεγίστων καὶ θειοτάτων | δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσί[ας τὸ δεύτερ]ον, πατέρων πατρίδος, ἀνθυπ[ατ]ων κτλ.

10) IG X Suppl. 1074 [259 CE]: ἀγαθῆι [τύχηι] | ὑπὲρ ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ νείκης καὶ αἰωνίου δ[ιαμονῆς τῶν μεγίστων καὶ θειοτάτων κυρίων ἥμων ἀηττήων | Αὐτοκρατόρων κτλ.

11) IG X Suppl. 1075 [260 CE]: ἀγαθῆι τύχηι | ὑπὲρ ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ νείκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς τῶν μεγίστω[ν] καὶ θειοτ[άτω]ν κυρίων Ἡμῶν ἀη[ττήτων Αὐ]|τοκρατόρων κτλ.

It becomes apparent that the position of the salutary vocabulary formed two distinct patterns. The first pattern is the postposition of salutary vocabulary *after* the emperors' titulature seen in examples 1-5, which, along with ὑπὲρ, effectively brackets the imperial titulature into a coherent unit. Examples 1-5 also happens to appear uniformly among second century CE inscriptions. The second pattern is the frontal position *before* the emperors' titulature, seen in examples 6-11. In this case, the bracketing formula no longer exists, and the examples suggest that the formulaic shift takes place uniformly among third century CE inscriptions.

That said, it is still important to point out that the Robert-Edson restoration is certainly supported by known examples, listed below:

12) IGBulg II 666
ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. | Διεὶ καὶ Ἥρᾳ καὶ | Ἀθηνᾷ ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν | Αὐτοκρατόρων τύ||χης καὶ διαμονῆς ὑ|μνῳδοὶ πρεσβύτε|ροι χοροστατοῦντο̣ς | Θεαγένου ἐκ τῶν ἰδ[ί]|ων ἀνέστησαν. || νησ.

13) Gerasa 58 HADRIAN 130 CE
ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Αὐτοκράτορος · Καίσαρος, θεοῦ · Τραιανοῦ · Παρθικοῦ · υἱοῦ, · θεοῦ Νέρουα · υἱωνοῦ, Τραιανοῦ Ἁδριανοῦ | Σεβαστοῦ, ἀρχιερέος μεγίστου, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ιδ´, ὑπάτου τὸ γ´, πατρὸς παρίδος, καὶ τύχης καὶ διαμονῆς τ̣οῦ | σύνπαντ[ος] αὐτ̣οῦ ο̣ἴκου ἡ πόλις Ἀντιοχέων πρ̣ὸς τῷ τῶν Χρυσορόᾳ τῶν πρότερον Γερασηνῶν ἐκ διαθήκης Φλαουίου || Ἀγρίππου τὴν πύλην σὺν θριάμβῳ. ἔτους βορ´.

14) Fayoum 1:88 COMMODUS 180 CE
(ἔτους) κ´ Λουκίου Α[ὐρ]ηλίου | Κομμόδου Σεβαστοῦ | [Μ]εσορὴ κατ᾽ ἀρχαίους ιγ´, | **ὑπὲρ [τῆς] Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου || τύχης καὶ δ̣[ια]μ̣ονῆς** Π̣ε̣τ̣εσούχῳ καὶ Πνεφερῶτι θεοῖς μεγίστοις ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθῷ.

15) TAM V,3 1656 COMMODUS
ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· **ὑπὲρ τῆς | τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος | Κομόδου τύχης καὶ δια|μονῆς | οἱ Ἔρωτες ἐποίησαν ἐκκ τῶν | ἰδίων**· κτλ.

While the results given here suggest that Robert's restoration is the better option than restoring καὶ | [ἀιωνίου δια]μονῆς, the examples also indicate that there is no necessary requirement for σωτῆρος to be emended to σῶτηρίας in order to make Robert's restoration of καὶ τύχης καὶ διαμονῆς work.[28] Example 13 in particular has the salutary sequence of ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας...καὶ τύχης καὶ διαμονῆς, which would nicely fit with how the Le Bas-Duchesne proposal was styled, and what Heuzey generally followed, as presented below:

. . . .[ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας
αὐτοκ]ράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτ[ο]υ Αἰλί[ο]υ Ἀδρι
ανοῦ Ἀντων]είνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Σωτῆρος καὶ
αἰωνίου δια]μονῆς καὶ Μ. Αὐρηλίου Οὐήρου Καίσαρος
καὶ τοῦ οἴκου] τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἱερᾶς συγκλήτου καὶ
δήμου Ῥωμ]αίων, εἰδέναι ἐπιτελεσθησόμεθα κυνήγια

. . . . [ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας . . . . .
. . . αὐτοκ]ράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτ[ο]υ Αἰλί[ου] Ἀδρι-
[ανοῦ Ἀντων]είνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσέβους Σωτῆρος καὶ
[αἰωνίου δια]μονῆς καὶ Μ. Αὐρηλίου Οὐήρου Καίσαρος
[καὶ τοῦ οἴκου] τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἱερᾶς συνκλήτου καὶ
[δήμου Ῥωμ]αίων, εἰδέναι ἐπιτελεσθησόμενα κυνήγια

Figure 5. Top: Duchesne 1876, p. 10. Bottom: Heuzey 1876, p. 274

The outcome of the database approach leads to three observations that can be used to measure past restorations of the salutary invocation in the Herennia Hispana inscription, and propose a new one. First, there is no precedent that requires Σωτῆρος to be emended: the Antonine custom allows for the positioning of αἰωνίου διαμονῆς immediately after the imperial titulature, without an intervening σωτηρίας. Second, καὶ [τύχης καὶ δια]μονῆς, as Robert suggested, is better than καὶ | [αἰωνίου δια]μονῆς, and as example 11 from Gerasa indicates, this restoration does not require σωτηρίας to precede καί. In fact, example 11 from Gerasa makes it clear that if σωτηρίας were to be invoked, it could be deployed at the beginning of the salutary sequence. By importing example 11 from Gerasa, the reconstructed salutary sequence for the Herennia Hispana inscription could be:

> .....[ὑπὲρ (σωτηρίας)] | [αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτ[ο]υ Αἰλί[ο]υ Ἀδρι|[ανοῦ Ἀντων]είνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Σωτῆρος καὶ | [τύχης καὶ διαμονῆς] κτλ.
>
> On account of (the safety) the imperator Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius the Savior's (and of his) fortune and continuity etc.

[28] I appreciate the anonymous reader for the responses given regarding my lack of treatment for the validity of Le Bas-Duchesne and Heuzey's proposed reconstruction in an earlier manuscript.

The virtue of this proposal is, on the one hand, that it retains Robert's solution to resolving what comes after καί is more ideal than bluntly restoring καὶ | [αἰωνίου δια]μονῆς; on the other hand, it draws from an extant model formulated in example 11. In other words, Heuzey's reading of σωτῆρος remains valid *even if* the following salutary sequence is not αἰωνίου διαμονῆς but rather καὶ τύχης καὶ διαμονῆς.

The outcome of this section can be simplified into two observations on the Robert-Edson emendation of σωτῆρος to σωτηρίας: 1) there is no example of σωτηρίας appearing in postposition during the Antonine period; 2) Σωτῆρος could stand as an epithet to Antoninus Pius without disturbing the natural flow of the salutary sequence used in the early to mid-second century CE. In fact, the examples given show that αἰωνίου διαμονῆς indeed an acceptable Antonine period formula, its postposition after imperial titulatures is so uniform among second century inscriptions – and so distinctly different from third century inscriptions, that it makes Papageorgiou's claim to have seen σωτηρίας unlikely to be acceptable. One could reconcile this apparent contradiction by considering the context in which Papageorgiou made the claim: it was about the rediscovery of *IG* X 2.1 141, which is a third century *invitatio ad munera* with a prepositioned formula restored as [ὑπὲ]ρ ὑγιείας κ[αὶ σωτηρί]ας καὶ νείκ[ης καὶ διαμονῆς τοῦ μεγίσ]|τοῦ καὶ θ[ειοτάτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος] κτλ.(ll. 1-2). Possibly, Papageorgiou's claim was more of a conjecture based on his belief that the formula in the rediscovered *invitatio* during the reign of Severus Alexander (226 or 228 CE) could be applied universally. From hindsight, we have clear proof that the Herennia announcement need not take σωτηρίας in its salutary opening.[29]

5. The Preamble: Interpretation and Uses

Assuming the argument advanced in the previous sections is correct, what would the consequences be? First to consider is whether reading σωτῆρ impacts established interpretations of the Herennia announcement that were based on reading σωτηρίας. We focus the discussion on Louis Robert's engagement, which remains one of the most important contribution to our understanding of the importance of the Herennia announcement. In the relevant sections of his analysis, Robert saw a close relationship between gladiatorial spectacles and the imperial cult based on the Herennia announcement's reference to the emperor's health.[30] Yet, when going into the specifics, his remark was: "a Thessalonique, l'annonce des spectacles est précédée d'une formule développée de voeux en faveur des empereurs régnants, de la maison impériale, du sénate et du peuple romains" (in Thessalonike, the announcement of spectacles is preceded by a developed formula of vows in favor of the reigning emperors, the imperial household, the Senate and the Roman people)."[31] These are potentially conflicting observations. Should deference to the the Senate and the Roman people count as part of the imperial cult? Would it be necessary to say that the gladiatorial spectacles were actually not performed "for the sake of the Senate and the People of Rome," but really only for the

[29] Dimitsas' critique of Papageorgios is surprisingly relevant here (Dimitsas 1876, 430). Dimitsas thought Papageorgios was wrong to accuse Duchesne for having erroneously printed ΣΩTHP when the text ought to have been ΣΩTHPIAΣ instead. Dimitsas seems to not be speaking in jest when he remarked that Duchesne indeed printed ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας, but only in small-cased letters and for the purpose of restoring the first line of the Herennia announcement ("ἀδίκως κατηγορεῖ τούτου· διότι ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ αὐτοῦ p. 10 οὐχὶ κακῶς, ἀλλὰ καλῶς καὶ ὀρθῶς κεῖται...ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας, μικροῖς μόνον γράμμασι καὶ οὐχὶ ΥΠΕΡ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ).
[30] Robert 1971, 270-271: les combats de gladiateurs sont liés au culte impérial de façon expresse.
[31] Robert 1971, 270 fn. 1.

emperor and his household?

The question also extends to third century CE announcements, and here we may find even more indication that gladiatorial announcements used a formula that targeted the entirety of the Roman establishment broadly construed, instead of only the emperors and their household. In the Beroian example cited earlier we have three sets of referents:[32]

> 1) ὑπὲρ ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ νίκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς τοῦ με|γίστου καὶ θειοτάτου καὶ ἀηττήτου κυρίου ἡμῶν κτλ. [Severus Alexander],
>
> 2) ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱερωτάτης μητρὸς αὐτοῦ [Iulia Mamaia Augusta];
>
> 3) ὑπὲρ τοῦ σύμπαντος θείου οἴκου καὶ ἱερᾶς συνκλήτου [Roman Senate] καὶ τῶν διασημοτάτων ἐπάρχων καὶ ἱερῶν στρατευμάτων καὶ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων [the imperial household, the sacred Senate, distinguished commanders, the sacred armed forces, and the people of Rome].

The third set is most surprising: not only has the list grew longer, but we now learn that the armed forces and their commanders now have just as much standing as the Senate and People in the language of fealty that local communities deploy in public communications. A separate discussion on the governing bodies and power groups that can be included in the salutary preamble will be needed to consider the nuances comprehensively, but it would suffice to import a separate example that is not in Macedonia, nor related to gladiatorial spectacles. In the city of Amastris, a local ephebarch dedicated a statue of a satyr along with an altar inscribed with the ephebes under his charge that year, and this inscription was also capped with a long salutary preamble (*SEG* 35.1317):

> ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. | ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοκράτορος Καίσα|ρος Θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱοῦ | Θεοῦ Νερούα υἱωνοῦ Τραιανοῦ || Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἡγεμο|νίας τε καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς | καὶ νείκης καὶ ἱερᾶς συνκλή|του καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων καὶ | βουλῆς καὶ δήμου τοῦ Ἀμαστριανῶν, Γάϊος Ἡλιοφῶντος | ἐφηβαρχήσας ἐν τῷ ασ´ | ἔτει ἐπὶ τῶν περὶ Λ. Αἴλιον | Αἰλιανὸν ἀρχόντων τὸν σά|τυρον σὺν τῷ βωμῷ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων κατασκευάσας ἀνέ|θηκεν ἐνγράψας καὶ τοὺς | ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐφήβους.
>
> To good fortune. For the sake of the reign and eternal continuity of the imperator Caesar Hadrianus Augustus son of divine Trajan Parthicus, grandson of divine Nerva, and for the sake of the victory of both the sacred Senate and the People of Rome, and both the *boule* and the *demos* of the Amastrians. Gaius Heliophontos (or son of Heliophon), served as ephebarch in the year 201 (of the Lucullan era of 70 BCE, hence 131 CE) when the magistrates were in the service of Lucius Aelius Aelianus, furnished the satyr with an altar from his own expenses, and dedicated it having inscribed the ephebes under his charge.

It could certainly be argued that the altar was a dedication to the emperor and hence ought to be categorized as an act of imperial worship, but what role would the *boule* and *demos* of the Amastrians play under such an assumption? It is also noticeable here that the language of power

[32] *EKM* 68 ll. 2-9.

and victory far outweighs any specific consideration for the emperor's health in this particular example. Such salutary fomula resembles a pledge of fealty to the Roman establishment broadly construed, instead of an exclusive act to worship the living emperor.

What would an act of worship resemble, and how would gladiatorial spectacles fit into a ritualized program of worship? We can turn to the vows mentioned in the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* as a test case (*RGDA* 9).[33]

> uota p[ro ualetudine[34] mea susc]ipi p[er con]sules et sacerdotes qu[in]to qu[oque anno decreuit senatus. ex iis] uotis s[ae]pe fecerunt uiuo m[e ludos aliquotiens sacerdot]um quattuor amplissima colle[gia, aliquotiens consules. pr]iua[ti]m etiam et municipatim uniuersi [ciues unanimite]r con[tinente]r apud omnia puluinaria pro uale[tu]din[e mea s]upp[licauerunt].
>
> Vows for my well-being are to be undertaken by the consuls and the priests every fifth year, so decreed the Senate. In fulfillment of these vows, shows often take place, on some occasions staged by the four priestly colleges, on others the consuls. Also, on individual and municipal terms, all citizenries, of one mind and steadfast, supplicated before all the seats of the gods for my well-being.
>
> εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας ἀναλαμβάνειν διὰ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ ἱερέων καθ᾽ ἑκάστην πεντετηρίδα ἐψηφίσατο ἡ σύνκλητος. ἐκ τούτων τῶν εὐχῶν πλειστάκις ἐγένοντο θέαι, τοτὲ μὲν ἐκ τῆς συναρχίας τῶν τεσσάρων ἱερέων, τοτὲ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων. καὶ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν δὲ καὶ κατὰ πόλεις σύνπαντες οἱ πολεῖται ὁμοθυμαδ[ὸν] συνεχῶς ἔθυσαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς σω[τ]ηρίας.
>
> Vows for my well-being are to be undertaken by the consuls and the priests every fifth year, so decreed the Senate. In fulfillment of these vows, shows often take place, on some occasions staged by the four priestly colleges, on others the consuls. Also, on individual and municipal terms, all citizenries, of one mind and steadfast, performed sacrifices for the sake of my well-being.

The vows described in the *Res Gestae* – εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας – calls to mind the third century CE *invitatio* from Beroia that we saw earlier. Following John Scheid's interpretation, the act of taking up the vow on behalf of the emperor's well-being (εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας ἀναλαμβάνειν) would eventually lead to the "fullfillment" of the vow (en acquittement de ces voeux).[35] However, the literal meaning of ἐκ τούτων τῶν εὐχῶν πλειστάκις ἐγένοντο θέαι – "there

[33] Scheid 2007, 9-10.

[34] Mommsen's restoration of *ualetudo* was revisited by Scheid 2007, 41-42, who thinks that restoring *pro salute* would be preferable: "ualetudo désigne autre chose que le salut physique et moral, et renvoie à une maladie," and hence take a Greek equivalent of ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς ὑγιείας, which is not the case here. R. Cooley 2009, 152, translated health, but also noted welfare may be better understood here, particularly regarding Augustus' safe journeys on the return home in 16 BCE (εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπανόδου τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐποιήσαντο, Dio Cass. 54.19.7) and 13 BCE respectively (τῷ Τιβερίῳ ἐπετίμησεν ὅτι τὸν Γάιον ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τῇ εὐκταίᾳ, ἣν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπανόδῳ αὐτοῦ διετίθει, παρεκαθίσατο, Dio Cass. 54.27.1).

[35] Scheid 2007, 41-42.

were often spectacles resulting from the vows" – is quite ambiguous.[36] Would the θεαί here be pentaeteric, and hence resemble the Actian games that included gymnastic competitions and "combat with weapons between prisoners of war,"[37] or were they something separate, considering Augustus' attentiveness to their frequency (πλειστάκις)?

Priestly colleges at Rome do craft vows so that the emperor's health and wellbeing would be taken to heart by a broad cross-section of the Roman empire, and examples include the *uota pro incolumitate* (vows for safety), the *uota pro ualetudine* (vows for wellness) and *uota pro salute principis* (vows for the health of the princeps).[38] Inscribed accounts of prayers which the Arval Brethren took for the sake of the emperor's well-being and safe passage indicate that vows were fulfilled with gilded bulls and cows.[39] In the provinces the governors would perform similar vows but with a cosmopolitan audience. Pliny's report to Trajan that the annual vow for the emperor's *incolumitas* – which the public welfare depended upon – was taken up (*suscepimus*) and sealed (*signari*), while the old vow was revealed and paid (*soluimus*), with the governor presiding the ceremony, with Romans, provincials, and Roman soldiers in attendance.[40] It is here that one would give pause and consider whether it is necessary to apply a strict interpretative framework and equate a vow taken for the emperor's safety as an act of emperor worship or the imperial cult. Pliny's point – that the emperor's safety was necessary because the well-being of the public was contingent upon it (publica salus continetur) – suggests that vows were understood by both the imperial establishment and the provincial elites as a viable way to communicate their consensus on the status quo of the empire.

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[36] Cooley 2009, 95-96, rendered the relationship more ambiguously: "in accordance with these vows" for the Latin and "along with these prayers" in the Greek.

[37] Dio Cass. 53.4-5: καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῇ πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ γενομένῃ ψηφισθεῖσαν ἤγαγε μετὰ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν ἱπποδρομίαν διά τε τῶν παίδων καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν εὐγενῶν ἐποίησε. καὶ αὕτη μὲν διὰ πέντε ἀεὶ ἐτῶν μέχρι του ἐγίγνετο, ταῖς τέσσαρσιν ἱερωσύναις ἐκ περιτροπῆς μέλουσα, λέγω δὲ τούς τε ποντίφικας καὶ τοὺς οἰωνιστὰς τούς τε ἑπτὰ καὶ τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα ἄνδρας καλουμένους: τότε δὲ καὶ γυμνικὸς ἀγὼν σταδίου τινὸς ἐν τῷ Ἀρειῳ πεδίῳ ξυλίνου κατασκευασθέντος ἐποιήθη, ὁπλομαχία τε ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐγένετο. (Augustus) also celebrated in company with Agrippa the festival which had been voted in honor of the victory won at Actium; and during this celebration he caused the boys and men of the nobility to take part in the hippodrome (Circensian) games. This festival was held for a time every four years and was in charge of the four priesthoods in succession – I mean the pontifices, the augurs, and the septemviri and quindecemviri, as they were called. On the present occasion, moreover, a gymnastic contest was held, a wooden stadium having been constructed in the Campus Martius, and there was a gladiatorial combat between captives.

[38] Daly 1950, 164-165; Cooley 2009, 152-153.

[39] Sherwin-White 1966, 611; Beard 1985, 121-125. A sample provided here: collegium decreuit | [qu]od bonum faustum felix salutarequ[e sit: cu]m u[ota] | contingeret ut priora soluerentur [e]t noua [uouerentur] | pro salute et incolumitate imp(eratoris) Ca[es]aris diui [Vespasiani f(ili)] | Domitiani Aug(usti) Germanici pontif(icis) max(imi) et Domi[tiae Aug(ustae)] coniug(is) | eius et Iuliae Aug(ustae) totique domui eorum, Iou[i o(ptimo)] m(aximo) b(ouem) m(arem), Iunoni | reginae b(ouem) f(eminam), Mineruae b(ouem) f(eminam), saluti pulibca[e popu]li Romani Quiri|tium b(ouem) f(eminam) [the college of the Arval Brethrens decred: may it be good, propitious, fortunate, and safe: since it was right that the previous vows should be fulfilled and new ones made for the health and safety of Emperor Caesar Domitian Augustus Germanicus, son of the deified Vespasian, pontifex maximus and of Domitia Augusta, his wife, and of Julia Augusta and of all their house – for Jupiter Optimus Maximus, a bull; for Juno Regina, a cow, for Minerva, a cow; for the Common Health of the Roman People, the Quirites, a cow (trans. Mary Beard)].

[40] Plin. *Ep*. 10.35: sollemnia uota pro incolumitate tua, qua publica salus continetur, et suscepimus, domine, pariter et soluimus. precati deos, ut uelint ea semper solui semperque signari. [We took up solemn vows for your safety which the public weal is contingent upon, lord, and discharged (the previous); we likewise prayed to the gods that these vows shall for ever be discharged and forever be confirmed. Plin. *Ep*. 10.35-36, 52-53, 100-101.

It is also worth considering the fact that the vocabulary used in the salutary formula differs: we find health, well-being, victory, and others paired with the continuity of reign. The different combinations were likely responding to different circumstances – perhaps different vows taken, or different historical circumstances that prompted the need to inscribe and announce the dedication of an object the or organization of a festive occasion. Again, this is a topic for a separate occasion, but apart from the singular use of αἰωνίου διαμονῆς, during the reign of Antoninus Pius we find νείκης, τύχης, and ὑγείας paired with "αἰωνίου διαμονῆς" on different inscriptions.[41]

One possible angle to approach Robert's vow hypothesis is to consider the salutary formula more than responding to specific vows, but rather in the lens of what Jason Moralee described as the functionalistic salutary ideology. Deploying formulae laden with words of salutary ideology and piety carried specific functions: it was a convenient method to affirm social status, and publicize and promote public benefactions made by individuals and communities.[42] Moralee's examples are particularly striking on the lower end of the social hierarchy. People who make use of imperial dedications were by no means only important personages for stately occasions or priests of the imperial cult. Rather low level officers, soldiers and veterans, and even small communities and their citizens were the private operators, and their concerns are notably local and personal. Many aimed at self-promotion and expressions of religious sentiment.[43] On the higher end of the spectrum, the deployment of salutary ideology generates a different dynamic in public benefaction and execution of wills. A prominent example given by Moralee is the triumphal arch at Gerasa dedicated to Hadrian, which was at once a communal venture led by the city but also a testamentary gift from a certain Flavius Agrippa.[44] He placed the monument within his discussion on the local rationale that benefactions for the public good would more likely receive premium value in prestige terms, if it were to be offered as a pledge for the well-being of emperors who were well-received by their peer communities.

Another comparable example is a letter by Pliny to Trajan regarding the testamentary gift from a certain Iulius Largus from Pontus.[45] The testator instructed that Pliny shall use his trust fund to

[41] Taşlıklıoğlu II:67,1: νείκης / αἰωνίου διαμονῆς; *IG* XII,5 659, IG XII,5 661, *IG* XII Suppl. 238: ὑγείας / αἰωνίου διαμονῆς; IGBulg V 5636: αἰωνίου διαμονῆς; *IG* XII,3 325: τύχης / αἰωνίου διαμονῆς.

[42] Moralee 2004, 37-38: "in addition to expressing acceptance of the salutary ideology and piety, the inscriptions demonstrate the degree to which the dedicators used the formula as a means of affirming social status. This includes the use of the formula as publicity for the dedicators' public benefactions (glossed as philotimia or euergesia) and promotions."

[43] Moralee 2004, 38-45.

[44] Gerasa no. 58 ll. 4-5 ἡ πόλις Ἀντιοχέων πρὸς τῷ τῶν Χρυσορόᾳ τῶν πρότερον Γερασηνῶν ἐκ διαθήκης Φλαουίου || Ἀγρίππου τὴν πύλην σὺν θριάμβῳ. This testamentary gift was also connected to a series of Gerasaean inscriptions set up around the time of Hadrian's journey to the province of Arabia and prolonged stay in Gerasa during the winter season. Gerasa no. 30 ll. 5-9: equites sing(ulares) eius qui | hibernati sunt Antioch[i]|ae ad Chrysorhoan quae | et Gerasa hiera et asylo(s) et au|tonomos etc. Millar 1993, 105-107 provides an useful account on the itinerary.

[45] Plin. *Ep*. 10.75: Iulius...Largus ex Ponto...rogauit enim testamento, ut hereditatem suam adirem cernerem que, ac deinde praeceptis quinquaginta milibus nummum reliquum omne Heracleotarum et Tianorum ciuitatibus redderem, ita ut esset arbitrii mei utrum opera facienda, quae honori tuo consecrarentur, putarem an instituendos quinquennales agonas, qui Traiani adpellarentur. [Iulius Largus from Pontus requested in his will that I shall accept and inspect his inheritance, and, with fifty thousand nummi set aside, the rest I shall bestow to the cities Heraclae Pontica and Tium, in such a way that I decide whether construction work is necessary to carry out that are consecrated in your honor, or a quinquennial agon should be instituted and called the Traianic.]

benefit the cities of Heraclea Pontica and Tium by either constructing buildings dedicated to Trajan's honor; or establishing a quinqennial games in Trajan's name for the two cities. From a practical perspective, the testator here seems to be factoring in the potential value of the estate in prestige terms should the project receive approval – and potentially support – from the highest imperial authority in the province. Yet, separate consideration may have been dictating the Pontian's choice. As Sherwin-White points out, it was only until the reign of Hadrian that the Senate passed the *SC Apronianum* and granted cities the privilege to act as legitimate heirs and receive *fideicommissa* from a testator.[46] A separate interpretation arises. Largus had few options if he wished to bequeath the communities of his choice without an intermediary. He wished to improve his chances of successfully bequeathing Heraclea Pontica and Tium with his trust fund, his best option was state his devotion to Trajan in his will up front, so that Pliny would not be able to refuse to execute his will according to his instructions. Pliny, in turn, had to oblige. Trajan's response made it clear that Pliny expected to play the role of the reliable governor and honor a provincial elite's devotion to both the emperor and his homeland.

To recapitulate, the observation to make from the analysis up to this point is that gladiatorial spectacles were not "expressly connected" to the imperial cult. As the salutary preamble suggests, gladiatorial spectacles were comparable to other objects and occasions that could be put forth by communities as pledges of fealty to the empire – a fealty directed towards not only the emperor and his household, but the Senate and the People of Rome, the armed forces, and other governing bodies that the issuer of the announcement or decree deemed important to recognize. The combined outcomes of the speech-act and the dedicatory gesture create the semblance of political stability and continuity of the norms of governance. The absence (or presence) of the emperor's σωτηρία within the salutary formula would only serve as a modifying element of the pledge.

In contrast, the presence of *soter* bracketed within the salutary formula is an entirely different matter. Hailing soter carry significant implications, covering transactional relationships between benefactors and communities in need or acknowledgement to power figures shaping the regional order with which the bestowing community must align. Epithets used under such mechanisms (such as *soter*, *euergetes*, and *kitstes*) could be accompanied with worship, but as Bowersock puts it, the combination was less about Greek religious life but more about their ways to conduct diplomacy, securing prospective benefactors or encourage further benefactions.[47] While often regarded as a panhellenic practice, Macedonia has a good share of notable examples. As early as the Peloponnesian War we see the Amphipolitans shifted from worshipping the Athenian Hagnon to hailing the Spartan Brasidas as *soter* following a change of allegiance.[48] In the Hellenistic period "free" cities that remained autonomous after annexed by Macedonian kings responded to royal benefactions, concessions, or high-impact military victories with such epithets.[49] We find similar transactional proclamations given to their Roman conquerors – the liberties and privileges that

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[46] Sherwin-White 1966, 663. *Dig*. 36.1.27: omnibus ciuitatibus, quae sub imperio populi romani sunt, restitui debere et posse hereditatem fideicommissam Apronianum senatus consultum iubet. sed et actiones in eas placuit ex Trebelliano transferri: sed municipes ad eas admittuntur. [all cities under the imperium of the Roman people ought to be restore and possess fideicommissary inheritances, as ordered by the Senatus Consultum Apronianum. Also, actions against them, as is set by the SC Trebellianum, are to be passed over; also, citizens of municipalities are permitted to carry actions against them.]

[47] Bowersock 1965, 112.

[48] Mari 2008, 238-239; Thuc. 5.11.1: "νομίσαντες τὸν μὲν Βρασίδαν σωτῆρα σφῶν γεγενῆσθαι."

[49] Mari 2008, 237; Nock 1972, 722.

some cities (such as Thessalonike and Amphipolis) were known to have possessed may be associated with such honors that prominent Roman governors and commanders received while in Macedonia.[50] These are but a few of the undercurrents that lie beneath the hailing of a principal political figure as *soter*.

Hailing an emperor *soter* took on a different meaning from the Augustan period onwards. Cassius Dio informed us that Augustus prohibited subjected communities from bestow honors upon Rome-dispatched magistrates, because some of these would try to manipulate and game the local honors system in bad faith.[51] Instead, it was Augustus himself who became the recipient of such honors. For instance, the post-Actium development in Greece, as Kantirea observed, took on a "soterological" trajectory:[52] her evidence included dedications such as "Caesar Augustus the God, Founder, Savior" on altars in Athens and Thessaly, also "Caesar Augustus son of *God*, savior of the Hellenes and of the entire world" on the architrave of the Metroon at Olympia.[53] Kantirea argued that such veneration of rulers was primarily a political expression – they reflect the cities' acknowledgement the official ideology disseminated from Rome regarding Augustus and his successors and also the cities' gratitude for specific benefactions – that conveyed the cities' support in spirit of the emperor's legitimation within the subtle veneration of the civic homage system.[54] Turning to Macedonia, statue bases in front of the main gate of Amphipolis (gate Δ) bear unpublished inscriptions with similar uses of *soter* and *ktistes* for Augustus.[55] As Daubner sees it, the Amphipolitans' placement of this statue for Augustus as god, savior, and founder of the city was a carefully calculated choice, for it brought the ancestral tombs of Amphipolis the Via Egnatia, and the early Hellenistic lion monument into alignment, leaving viewers of the statue with the impression that Augustus' (re-)foundation has brought continuity to the city's heroic past.[56]

Antoninus Pius is not known to have been hailed as savior in Macedonia. Assuming that the restoration of σωτῆρος is accepted, then we have the first example of Antoninus Pius's engagement with Macedonia's provincial capital, and may be placed in the context of rivalry between Thessalonike and Beroia, which may have already become significant during the Flavian period based on epigraphic evidence. Hailing the reigning emperor as savior may suggest that Thessalonike achieved additional success in this tussle for regional prominence.

While Antoninus Pius was not known to have been hailed *soter* in Macedonia, we do find Spartan dedications of several dozen altars honoring him as Zeus Eleutherius Antoninus Soter, and

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[50] Thessalonike honoring Quintus Caecilius Metellus: *IG* X 2.1 134; Amphipolis honoring Marcus Licinius Crassus: Nigdelis & Anagnostoudis 2017, 305-13 no. 18; Xydopoulos 2018, 88-89, 91.

[51] Dio Cass. 56.25.6: (ὁ Αὐγούστος) τῷ ὑπηκόῳ προσπαρήγγειλε μηδενὶ τῶν προστασσομένων αὐτοῖς ἀρχόντων μήτε ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνῳ μήτε ἐντὸς ἑξήκοντα ἡμερῶν μετὰ τὸ ἀπαλλαγῆναί σφας τιμήν τινα διδόναι, ὅτι τινὲς μαρτυρίας παρ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπαίνους προπαρασκευαζόμενοι πολλὰ διὰ τούτου ἐκακούργουν. [(Augustus) ordered the subjected to bestow no honor upon those whom were appointed to magistracies while in office and during the sixty dates after they are discharged from office, because some of them seek to prearrange testimonies and praises in their favor, and perpetrate many evils on account of it.]

[52] Kantirea 2007, 48-52.

[53] *IG* II^2 3237: ὁ δῆμος | Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου θεοῦ ἀρχηγέτου σωτῆρος; IvO 366: Ἠλῆοι θ[εοῦ] υἱοῦ Καί[σαρος] | Σεβαστοῦ, σωτ[ῆρος τῶν Ἑλ]|λήν[ω]ν [τ]ε καὶ [τῆς οἰκου]|[μέ]ν[ης] πά[σ]η[ς, ναόν]; for altars from Thessaly, see list at Kantirea 2007, 51-52.

[54] Kantirea 2007, 195-196.

[55] Daubner 2016, 399.

[56] Daubner 2016, 407.

Spawforth assumed that this may have to do with his involvement in significant disputes between Sparta and the Eleutherolaconian league.[57] Interestingly, there are also two dozen altars dedicated to his predecessor Hadrian, who was assimilated with Zeus Soter Olympus: considering one example spoke of Hadrian as an benefactor, and another as founder, these may have been dedicated on different occasions and for different purposes.[58] Arbitrations and benefactions in the Peloponnese may be mirrored in northern Greece: the veneration of Antoninus Pius as Soter may indicate that the emperor took up a sizable role financially or politically to the benefit of Thessalonike.

Claiming an emperor as savior is, in the general scheme of the history of eugergetism in the Greek East, similar to the city giving thanks to a local benefactor or testator by drawing the public's attention to their deeds. Vickers observed that significant building activity in Thessalonike during the Roman period begun only until the Antonine period, and this could fit with Antoninus Pius' role as euergetist of the city's infrastructure. In addition, Vickers also pointed out that there was an inscribed rescript from Antoninus Pius to the city's boule and demos found in the Serapeum,[59] along with a dedicatory inscription that the city engraved upon an ionic marble epistyle for Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Faustina Augusta, and Lucius Commodus.[60] Noticeably, the dedicatory inscription did not include σωτῆρ. Yet, considering that inscription already described Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Commodus as adoptive sons to Antoninus Pius, the inscription would have been at least four years later than the Herennia announcement.[61] Circumstances may have already evolved, and the term "savior" may have been no longer an immediately relevant form of invocation. The genre of the inscription is dedicatory, and in terms of format different from the examples of civic announcements and decrees that would require the string of preambulatory salutation, and hence not indicative of what would or would not be used in that genre.

What the rescript from Antoninus Pius that the magistrates of Thessalonike decided to inscribe and the ionic marble epistyle together suggest is that there was clear positive relationship between Thessalonike and the reigning emperor. It also happens that Thessalonike had one of the more curious ephebic cults associated with Antoninus Pius. The city worshipped θεός (Αὐρήλιος) Φοῦλβος, which may have been the cult of Antoninus Pius' son Marcus Aurelius Fulvus Antoninus, who died before 138 CE, or Marcus Aurelius' son Titus Aurelius Fulvus Antonius, who died in 165 CE.[62] While the epigraphic record concerning this particular cult is from third-century honorific inscriptions,[63] the personages taking up the offices were young individuals from a close-knit kinship group that intermarried between three lineages in Thessalonike. Their hold on the priesthood can span up to four generations. They also have ties to the lineages of Macedoniarchs

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[57] *IG* 5.1 nos. 407-445; Spawforth 2002, 105.

[58] *IG* 5.1 no. 395: αὐτοκράτ[ορος] Ἁδριανοῦ Καίσαρος σωτῆρος καὶ εὐεργ[έ]του τῆς Λακε|δαίμονος. IG 5.1 no. 404: αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Τραϊα[νῷ] Ἁδριανῷ Σεβαστῷ τῷ τᾶ[ς] Λακεδαίμονος σωτῆ[ρι] καὶ κτίστῃ. Spawforth 2002, 100.

[59] *IG* X 2.1 no. 15: ἀγαθῆι [τύχηι]. | [Αὐτοκράτωρ] Καῖσαρ Θεοῦ Ἁδρι[ανοῦ υἱός], | [θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ] υἱωνός, Θεοῦ Νέρουα [ἀπόγονος], | [Τ. Αἴλιος Ἁδριανὸς Ἀντωνῖ]νος Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺ[ς μέγιστος], || [δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ... Αὐτο]κράτωρ τὸ β, ὕπατος τὸ [... πατὴρ πατρίδος] | [Θεσσαλονεικέων τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ] τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τ[ῶι δήμωι χαίρειν].

[60] *IG* X 2.1. no. 36: αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Τ. Αἰλίῳ Ἁδριανῷ Ἀντωνείνῳ Σεβαστῷ Εὐσεβεῖ καὶ τοῖς | τέκνοις αὐτοῦ Μάρκ[ῳ Αὐρηλίῳ Καίσα]ρι καὶ Φαυστείνῃ Σεβαστῇ καὶ Λουκίῳ Κομόδῳ ἡ πόλις.

[61] Vickers 1970, 249-251.

[62] *CIL* VI 988-989; See Steimle 2008, 152, for the debate between Edson and Robert on the matter.

[63] Steimle 2008, 143-148.

in Beroia.[64] Steimle believes that the cult in question was Antoninus Pius's son Marcus Fulvus, and replaced the Antinoos cult, which was generally absent in the city's epigraphical record.[65] If true, then Thessalonike's devout act may have hit Antoninus Pius' sweet spot in the year of his accession, which paved the way for Thessalonike's gradual rise in further prosperity during the mid-second century CE. Herennia's spectacles may have been in the early years of this upward trajectory of the city's fortunes.

That said, Herennia was not described as a highpriestess, a point that would make her gift quite extraordinary. The private giving of spectacles had been subject to significant restrictions since the Augustan period onwards,[66] and in the Greek provinces we find the spectacles generally performed by highpriests as a necessary component of their appointment.[67] The issue here is in part logistical. Spectacles required more than funds but the ability to obtain the right goods and services with them. Highpriests of the imperial cult (or at least the more successful of them) were known to have been master organizers: they owned and inherited gladiatorial troupes, and had the social and political means to muster logistical feats such as the importation of exotic animals or the renovation of theaters into arenas.[68] The Thessalonian *invitatio* of 260 CE boasted pairs of leopards, hyenas, and Laconian dogs (Lakaines), and such specific reference to the types and numbers to be fielded must have meant that Claudius Rufrius Menon, the Hierophant of the sacred divine Kabeiros, agonothete of the Macedonian koinon for life, Macedoniarch, twice highpriest of the Augusti, and agonothete of the neokoriate games invested considerably at his personal expense to attribute his (and his wife's) success to the entire imperial establishment (two co-emperors, their household, Sacred Senate, Sacred Armed Forces, People of Rome, Commanders of the sacred Praetorian

[64] Steimle 2008, 149.
[65] Steimle 2008, 152-153.
[66] A Senate decision is required for gladiatorial shows in the context of Augustus' reform of public celebratory events, assigning the duty to present all festivities (τὰς πανηγύρεις πάσας) – gladiatorial shows (ὁπλομαχία) included – to praetors, and gladiatorial shows by decree of the Senate. Dio Cass. 54.2.4: καὶ τοῖς μὲν στρατηγοῖς τὰς πανηγύρεις πάσας προσέταξεν, ἔκ τε τοῦ δημοσίου δίδοσθαί τι αὐτοῖς κελεύσας, καὶ προσαπειπὼν μήτε ἐς ἐκείνας οἴκοθέν τινα πλεῖον τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀναλίσκειν μήθ᾽ ὁπλομαχίαν μήτ᾽ ἄλλως εἰ μὴ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσαιτο, μήτ αὖ πλεονάκις ἢ δὶς ἐν ἑκάστῳ ἔτει, μήτε πλειόνων εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνρῶν ποιεῖν (and Augustus arranged for the praetors to oversee all festivities; he ordered that sums from the public purse are to be provided to them, and he set restrictions that no one shall spend more than another from his private purse towards these festivals, nor armed combat shows be allowed unless the Senate decrees it, nor indeed could there be in excess of two shows in each year, nor should a show be staged to exceed 120 men). Augustus therefore effectively monopolized the giving of gladiatorial shows.
[67] Carter 2004, 45-53; Deininger 1965, 46 (Koinon of Asia), 64-65 (Pontic Koina), 66-67 (Galatian Koinon), 160 (Overview).
[68] That provincial priests could lease gladiators from lanistae, or purchase gladiatorial familiae from their predecessors, are expressly discussed in the *CIL* II 6278 ll. 59-60: sacerdotes quoque prouinciarm, quibus nullu[m cum lanisti]s nego[tiu]m e[rit], gladiatores a prioribu[s s]acerdotibus su[s]||ceptos, uel si pla<c>et auctoratos, recipiunt, at post editi[o]n(em) pl[u]re ex p[re]tio in succedentes tran[sf]erunt... (Also, there are provincial priests who do not conduct business with lanistae and intead acquire gladiators (or, if they prefer, auctoritati) from previous priests, but, following the event, transfer them at a higher price to their successors...). For the literary and epigraphical examples of organizing and staging beast hunts with exotic animals, see discussion in Epplett 2014, 509-514; for discussion on the epigraphic dossier and archaeological examples in Aphrodisias, particularly on the infrastructure and the gladiatorial troupes maintained by the high priest of Asia, see Kontokosta 2008, 192-195; On important literary references that concerns the ownership and maintenance of gladiatorial troupes by high priests of Asia, see Carter 2004, 42-45.

guard) that were invoked in the preamble.[69] Back in 142 CE, Tiberius Claudius Crispus and the Thessalonian politarchs shared the spotlight instead, perhaps to make sure that the logistics for the three days' hunt and gladiatorial fights were in order. The announcement seemed less about their posturing of their respective social standing and financial prowess, but rather to serve at the city's bidding. That is not to say there was nothing to gain. Gladiatorial spectacles were indeed an accepted demonstration of loyalty across the empire.[70] An enthusiastic audience would also appreciate the organizers, certainly a positive for their social standing.[71]

However, funds present does not mean that they would match expenses. There are still risks to take. Francesco Camia's excellent exposé of the apparent and hidden costs for financing festivals in the eastern provinces demonstrate the challenging scenarios that may overwhelm cities, leading to bloated budgets that sapped municipal revenues and financial burdens that make festivities ruinous.[72] One instance concerns the pentaeteric Serapieia held in Tanagra. An agnothete by the name of Glaukos took charge of an agonistic foundation and was given 3,000 drachmae to cover the ordinary costs, but ended up spending 3,276 drachmae. This final tally does not include additional out-of-pocket expenses for sacrificial victims and libations, daily banquets for judges, artists, choirs, and winners.[73] One could imagine that the risks were even higher when the success of the events intertwined with the emperor's well-being.[74] Lavishly prepared machinations, exotic imports of beasts and personnel, and prolonged programs were the best demonstrations of loyalty in general terms, but can be financially ruinous.[75] Latin and Greek sources indicate that imperial interventions on expenses were frequent in the second century, because provincial elites may refuse nomination for a range of reasons, including risk avoidance.[76]

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[69] Nigdelis 2006, 90-91; *IG* X 2.1 Suppl. 1075 ll. 2-10 ὑπὲρ ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ νείκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς τῶν μεγίστω[ν] καὶ θεοτ[άτων] κυρίων ἡμῶν ἀη[ττήτων Αὐ]|τοκρατόρων...καὶ του σύνπαντος θείου οὔκου αὐτῶν καὶ ἱερᾶς συνκλήτου καὶ ἱερῶν στρατευμάτων καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν ἐξοχωτάτων ἐπά[ρχων τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου] | Τιβ(έριος) Κλ(αύδιος) Ῥούφριος Μένων ὁ κρ(άτιστος) ἱεροφάντης τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου θεοῦ Καβείρου καὶ δὰ βιου ἀγωνοθέτης [τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων] | καὶ μακεδονιάρχης καὶ β ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ αἰωνοιοτάτης λαμπρᾶς Θεσσαλονεικαίων μητροπόλεως καὶ κολωνείας καὶ β´ [νε]ωκόρου ἀγ[ωνοθέτης ἀγῶνος ἱερ]οῦ οἰκουμε|νικοῦ εἰσελαστικοῦ τῶν μεγάλων ΚΑισαρείων Ἐπινεικίων Καβειρίων Πυθίων κτλ.

[70] Oliver 1955, 324-326, discussed how privileges granted to provincial priests in Gaul to acquire prisoners condemned to death for gladiatorial performances could secure provincial loyalty, for it guaranteed a channel for gallic traditions to be continued in conjunction with displays of loyalty towards the emperor (ad Gallias sed et <t>rin<quo>s qui in ciuitatibus splendidissimarum Galliarum ueteri more et sacro ritu expectantur ne ampliore pretio | lanistae praebeant quam binis milibus, cum maximi pr[in]cipes oratione sua praedixerint fore ut damnatum a<d> gladium | procurator eorum non plure quam sex aureis lanistis pra[ebeat], *CIL* II 6278 ll. 56-58).

[71] Price 1984, 116; Robert 1971, 174 no. 171.

[72] Camia 2011, 47-49.

[73] Camia 2011, 51; Calvet and Roesch, 1966, 298 ll. 20-21 for the ordinary expenses (ἔλαθον παρὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς Καφισίου τοῦ Βουκάττους ἀττικοῦ κ(εφαλὴν) Γ [δραχμὰς] ἀ[ργυ]|ρίου κτλ.; l. 52 for the total expenses (Κεφ(αλὴ) ΓΣΟF), and ll. 53-56 for expenses unaccounted for: [τὰ ἄ]λλα ἀνηλώματα τὰ γενόμενα εἴς τε τὰ ὅρκια τὰ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν [καὶ τὰς ἑσ]|[τι]άσεις τῶν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν τοῦ ἀγῶνος τῶν τε κριτῶν [καὶ τεχνιτῶν] | [καὶ χ]ορῶν καὶ νικησάντων καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐπίθυμα καὶ ῥάσ[μα οὐκ ἀπο]|[λ]ογίζομαι διὰ τὸ δεδαπανηκέναι παρ᾽ ἐμαυτοῦ.

[74] In the *Aes Italicae*, the minutes for the so-called Senatus Consultum de Pretiis Gladiatorum Minuendis, the speaker spoke of one individual just appointed provincial priest and already consider his fortunes entirely lost, and even sought to appeal to the emperor for the removal of this appointment. Oliver 1955, 331 l. 16: erat aliquis qui deplorauerat fortunas suas creatus sacerdos, qui auxilium sibi in prouocatione ad principes facta constituerat.

[75] Coleman 2008, 33; Reynolds 2000, 16-18.

[76] Carter 2006, 169 fn. 42. *SHA Pius* 12.3 sumptum muneribus gladiatoriis instituit (he fixed the expenses for gladiatorial liturgies); *SHA Marc*. 11.4 gladiatoria spectacula omnifariam temperauit (he fixed gladiatorial

Herennia was also (likely) deceased, which implies that the risk of organizing the spectacles would be left unclaimed. The last line, ἐπὶ τουτῶν πρώτως ἤχθη, suggests the show was not a recurring event, and a collective burden (ἐπὶ τοῦτων) shared between the highpriest and the politarchs of Thessalonike.[77] The conventional view is that municipal institutions were rarely if at all charged with the giving of gladiatorial spectacles; rather, their primary charge was to present agonistic festivals.[78] Here, at least, is one rare example in which private benefactions were assigned with specifically designated officers to oversee the success of the operation.[79] Perhaps Thessalonike even had to ask permission from Antoninus Pius for Herennia's spectacles to be given for the emperor's well-being, as Pliny had done with Iulius Largus' bequest. The city then had to accept that they must make sure that Herennia's spectacles – and Antoninus Pius' well-being – would be managed appropriately. The college of politarchs and the presiding high priest of the imperial cult would collectively shoulder the burden, akin to what Glaukos had done for Tanagra's pentaeteric Serapieia.

6. Conclusions

The first of this paper's aim is to take a more closer look at Papageorgiou's claim that σωτῆρος out to be changed to σωτηρίας. By taking into account earlier studies by Heuzy and Hogarth in particular, along with supporting epigraphic evidence gleaned from Louis Robert's study and the PHI internet database, the suggestion that this paper wishes to put forth is to revert back to Heuzey's reading of σωτῆρος. Further discussions on how the Herennia announcement was written to balance different concerns, including the unique incorporation of the college of politarchs and the municipal high priest of the imperial cult for a privately funded series of spectacles, are given to

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spectacles at moderate prices), 27.6 gladiatorii muneris sumptus modum fecit (he created a proper measure of the cost for gladiatorial liturgy); Reynolds 2000, 9 ll. 32-36: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν τινες πολεῖται ὑμέτεροι λέγον|τες εἰς ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀδύνατοι ὄντες προβεβλῆσθαι, ἀνέπεμψα αὐ|τοὺς ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἐξετάσαντας προτερον δύνατοι ὄντες λειτουργεῖν δια|δύονται, ἢ ἀληθὴ λέγουσιν. εἰ μέντοι φαίνοιντό τινες αὐτῶν εὐπορώτε|ροι, προτέρους ἐκείνους ἀρχιερᾶσθαι δίκαιον. ("and since there were certain citizens among you saying that they are unable to undertake the high priesthood yet were put forward, I sent them to your charge, that you examine well, firstly, whether they are able to serve yet are evading, or they speak truthfully. If some of them seem to be financially more viable, it is right to have those to be high priest). See discussion on comparanda for nomination to high priesthoods in Reynolds 2000, 18-19.

[77] On the recurring formula, see also the founding of the Euryclean games at Sparta (Sparta Archaeological Museum Inv. 6474) published by Steinhauer and Paspalas 2006/2007, 199, [ἔ]φοροι ἐπὶ Νεικηφ|[όρου] τοῦ Μάρκου ἐφ᾽ ὧν | [Α]ὐτοκράτωρ Ἁδριανὸς | [ἐχ]αρίστο τῆ πόλει || [Κύ]θηρα τὴν νῆσσον | [καί] πρώτως ἤχθη ὁ τῶν | [Εὐρυ]κλείων ἀγών. | [ὧ]ν πρέσβυς | [Γ. Ἰούλι]ος Εὔδαμος.

[78] The demarcation is quite clear, as observed by Louis Robert: "Il est très rare que la ville ait à s'occuper des combats de gladiateurs. Ce ne sont pas des fêtes organisées par la cité, comme le sont les concours gymniques, hippiques et musicaux, mais par un citoyen qui en fait les frais et qui offre ce spectacle à ses concitoyens. C'est bien un munus. Le combat de gladiateurs ne compte pas parmi les agones de la ville, mais parmi les liturgies des citoyens" (it is quite rare for a city to become occupied with gladiatorial combat. These are not festivities organized by the city, unlike gymnastic, equestrian, and musical competitions. Rather, they were by the citizenry, who covers the expenses, and offers such spectacles to their fellow peers. It is indeed a "munus." Gladiatorial combat does not count among the agones of the city, bur rather count as the liturgies of its citizens) (Robert 1971, 267).

[79] Ville 1981, 199: "il s'agit dune cura collective, dont nous ne connaissons pas d'exemple pour les munera publics ou de fondation occidentaux." For a list of inscriptions of what Ville categorized as the munera de fondation, see Ville 1981, 197-199. Mann 2011, 57-58 categorized known examples into four types: spectacles given by the agonothete/gymnasiarchs; inaugural shows; testamentary liturgies; commercial shows charged for entrance fees.

account for the inscription's uniqueness. In particular, the new reading suggests that the Thessalonians were keen in following permitted salutary language adopted across the eastern provinces to mark their special relationship with Antoninus Pius shared during the early years of his reign.

From the perspective of inter-city rivalry between Thessalonike and Beroia, Herennia's testamentary munus was more than a demonstration of loyalty to the Roman establishment by a member of the provincial elite, but a sort of counter to Beroia, which had long served the center of gravity for festivities and spectacles. One important piece of evidence is the honorific inscription recording the achievements of Quintus Popillius Python, the high priest for life of the Augusti and agonothete of the Macedonian Koinon. He was generous as high priest, having imported exotic animals for beast fights and gladiatorial shows and to distributing money province-wide, building roads, and lowering corn prices.[80] The most important contribution, however, was his embassy to Nerva, which purpose was to secure their hold on the exclusive rights for Beroia to monopolize the title of neokoros of the Augusti and the title of metropolis – ὑπὲρ τοῦ μόνην αὐτ|ην ἔχειν τὴν νεωκορίαν τῶν Σε|βαστῶν καὶ τὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἀξίω|μα καὶ ἐπιτυχόντα.[81] Thessalonike was the other Macedonian city known as metropolis in the first century (according to Strabo),[82] and would have likely been the failed contender, and it seems that Beroia's grasp on both titles extended further on, for the Herennia announcement mentioned no such title, despite having the chance to do so.[83]

We may posit that, following Herennia's demise, the municipal government – instead of her kin – was entrusted with the execution of her legacy, and at considerable risk to the city magistrates. At the time, the provincial high priesthood was likely controlled by important personages in Beroia, and so too the appropriate venues and resources, which would have been much more efficiently assembled in the metropolis. Yet, the Thessalonians have already achieved some success in establishing bona fides with the new emperor. One of the more drastic measures being the switching of the cult of Antinoos for the cult of the Divine Fulvus, likely Antoninus Pius' son. Antoninus Pius may have returned the favor, perhaps in the form of building programs or some other benefaction that addressed the city's urgent needs, leading to the decision by the civic

[80] *EKM* 1. Beroia 117 ll. 8-20 καὶ δὸντα ἐν τῷ | τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης χρόνῳ τὸ ἐπικε||φάλιον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπαρχίας καὶ ὁ|δοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπισκευάσαν|τα καὶ καταγγείλαντα καὶ ἀγαγόντα | εἰσακτίους ἀγῶνας, ταλαντιαίους, θυμελικοὺς καὶ γυμνικούς, δόν||τα θηριομαχίας διὰ παντοίων ζῴων, | ἐντοπίων καὶ ξενικῶν, καὶ μονομαχί|ας, ποησάμενον δὲ κ<α>ὶ σείτων παραπρά|σεις κ<α>ὶ ἐπευωνίσαντα ἐν καιροῖς ἀνανκ<α>ὶοις | κ<α>ὶ διαδόμασιν παρ᾽ ὅλον τὸν τῆς ἀρχιαιρω||σύνης χρόνον πανδήμοις κτλ.

[81] *EKM* 1. Beroia 117 ll. 1-8: τὸν διὰ βίου ἀρχιερῆ τῶν Σεβαστῶν | καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην τοῦ κοινοῦ Μ<α>κε|δόνων Κ(όιντον) Ποπίλλιον Πύθωνα πρεσ|βεύσαντα ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος Βεροί||ας ἐπὶ θεὸν Νέρουαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μόνην αὐτ|ην ἔχειν τὴν νεωκορίαν τῶν Σε|βαστῶν καὶ τὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἀξίω|μα καὶ ἐπιτυχόντα κτλ. See discussion at Burrell 2004, 191-192, where she suggested that the contender of Beroia was Thessalonike.

[82] Strab. 7.8.21: εἶτα Θεσσαλονίκεια Κασάνδρου κτίσμα ἐν ἄλλοις τετταράκοντα καὶ ἡ Ἐγνατία ὁδός. ἐπωνόμασε δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς Θεσσαλονίκης, Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμύντου θυγατρός...ἡ δὲ μητρόπολις τῆς νῦν Μακεδονίας ἐστί. [then there is Thessalonike, a foundation by Cassander, in another fourty stades further, and also the Egnatian Road. Cassander named the city after his wife Thessalonike, the daughter of Philip son of Amyntas...it is now the metropolis of Macedonia.]

[83] In association, we mention that, in the Valeriani announcement, Beroia only advertised its rank as metropolis: Burrell saw this lapse as an indication that the status of neokoros (now a second time after the bestowal of Elagabalus) was likely withdrawn briefly during the reign of Severus Alexander as part of the purge of his predecessor's influence. See discussion at Burrell 2004, 294-296.

authorities to hail Antoninus Pius as Soter.

With Herennia's spectacles approved, whether by the imperial establishment or the city of Thessalonike, the *boule* and *demos* decided, by a vote that had taken place, that the high priest of the city's imperial cult establishment shall lead the college of politarchs to make all proper arrangements financial or otherwise, so that the spectacles take place on the 13th of March, 142 CE. As all parties involved have a stake in the joint venture, but also the share of the glory, blame, and burdens – if any – that comes with the success or failure of the recurring event, the drafter of the announcement opted to redirect the interlocutory focus in a template that was designed to focus on the *munerarius* towards the decisions, votes, and delegated agents tasked with executing the testamentary munus.[84] The outcome was satisfactory, and it was inscribed in stone.

[84] See the discussion on the conceptual nuances in Ceccarelli 2018, 169-171; for bibliography on the impersonal writing of decrees, see Ceccarelli 2018, 170 fn. 50.

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Thucydides' Account of the Athenian Plague

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Abstract

This paper offers a reading of Thucydides' account of the Athenian plague from a modern perspective of someone who has observed or directly experienced *"ta symbebekota"* of Covid-19. "*Ta symbebekota*" refers to those phenomena that were not only consequences but also accompaniments of the Athenian plague. In addition, I look into a point that seems to have been overlooked by Thucydides in his account of the plague and offer two reasons for it. Finally, there are suggestions why Thucydides should still be read.

Keywords: Thucydides, Pericles, Euripides, Heracles, loimos, Peloponnesian war, democracy, Covid-19.

Thucydides' account of Athenian Plague (430 B.C.) is a *locus classicus* for a discussion of epidemics, which is evident in the history of its reception. According to J. S. Rusten,

> [T]he scientific value of the description is less notable than its literary impact[1]: here begins a tradition of plague-narratives stretching from Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 6. 1138-1286 (often virtually a translation of Thucydides, as is Ovid, *Met. 7*. 523-81), and Vergil (*Georgics* 3. 478-566, a livestock plague), through Procopius (*De bello Persico* 2.22) and Bocaccio (*Decameron*, Proem) to Defoe's *A Journal of the Plague Year*, Mann's *Der Tod in Venedig* : Camus' *La Peste and* Bergman's *The Seventh Seal*. (179-180)

To this list belongs also *El amor en los tiempos del cólera* by Garcìa Márquez. Following the outbreak of Covid-19, however, scientific analysis of the Athenian plague has now increased among scholars.[2] Some have tried to identify the disease, *loimos*, as smallpox; some as epidemic typhus.[3] Almost 30 different diseases have been suggested as candidates for the kind

[1] See Morgan.

[2] Confer Littman.

[3] Confer Papagrigorakis et al.

of disease.[4] For the sake of distinction, I use the Athenian term *loimos* to refer to it.[5] It is interesting to see is that people are now talking more frequently about what can be learned from Thucydides' account in experiencing and facing up to the social clashes of Covid-19 personally and directly.[6] In this regard, it is important to point out that scholars are mostly of the same opinion, that Thucydides' accounts concerning the social *symbebekota* of the Athenian *loimos* are truthful, and useful for an understanding and analysis in global terms of social disorder, political division, and what has become known as "fake news". Evidence for this is the fake news or conspiracy theory that was dominant among Athenians regarding the cause and origin of *loimos*:

> [*Loimos*] fell on the city of Athens suddenly. The first affected were the inhabitants of the Piraeus, who went so far as to allege that the Peloponnesians had poisoned the wells (at that time there were no fountains in the Piraeus). (Thucydides 2.48. 2.)

Remarkably, however, scholarship on this issue devotes little attention to analyzing and estimating the *symbebekota* of the *loimos*, just as some discussions of Covid-19 do now.[7] I think the issue of the *symbebekota* of the Athenian *loimos* deserves to be discussed. However, it is not easy to find textual substantiations that can explain the *symbebekota*, partly because of the lack of evidence and partly of the ongoing Peloponnesian War. But Thucydides did mention it clearly, though briefly.

> Such was the affliction which had come on the Athenians and was pressing them hard – people dying inside the city, and the devastation of their land outside. In this time of trouble, as tends to happen, they recalled a verse which the old men said was being chanted long ago: 'A Dorian war come, and bring a pestilence with it.' People have disputed whether the original word in the verse was *limos* ('famine') rather than *loimos* ('pestilence'), but not surprisingly in the present situation the prevailing view is that 'pestilence' was the word used. Men accommodate their memories to their current experience. I imagine that if at some time another 'Dorian war' comes next after this one, with famine coinciding, the verse will in all likelihood be recited with that meaning. Those who knew of it also remembered the oracle given to the Spartans, when they enquired whether they should go to war and the god answered that they would win if they fought in earnest, and said that he himself would take their side. The general surmise was that the facts fitted the oracle. The plague had indeed begun immediately after the Peloponnesians had invaded, and it never reached the Peloponnese to any significant

[4] See Papagrigorakis et al.

[5] See Mitchell-Boyask, "Materials 1: The language of disease in tragedy," 18-44.

[6] See Kelaidis; Fins.

[7] Confer Malbeuf et al.

> extent, but spread particularly in Athens and later in other densely populated areas. So much for the facts of the plague. (Thucydides 2.54)

Three points stand out from this citation. Firstly, Thucydides' account was written not at the time of *loimos* but quite some time later. The disputation about the "original word" for "pestilence" confirms this. Some people contend that it was written at the time of the plague, but that is not substantiated by the remark "Men accommodate their memories to their current experience." It is also confirmed by the remark "[T]he result – inevitable in a great city with an empire to rule – was a series of mistakes, most notably the Sicilian expedition" (Thucydides 2. 65). The account of the Athenian *loimos* thus must have been written after the Sicilian expedition. Secondly, the *loimos* did not invade the region of Peloponnesus: the war functioned as a kind of vaccine to the Peloponnesians. The final thing to point out is that the account of the Athenian *loimos* was a recollection on the part of Thucydides, and I believe this is the primary reason for assuming why he was not able to give an account of *ta symbekota* of the *loimos*. For the same reason, scholarship has also generally explained the social disorder and political conflict in the Athenian *polis* from the perspectives of the war and of the immaturity of Athenian democracy.[8] In my view, however, the *loimos,* together with the war, also might have had a decisive influence on the dissolution of traditional societies and the formation of new ones, because the fear of death that accompanied the plague dismantled the traditional value system of Athens[9] and the existing political hierarchy and order[10], as is manifest in Thucydides' own remarks:

> No fear of god or human law was any constraint. Pious or impious made no difference in their view when they could see all dying without distinction. As for offences against the law, no one expected to live long enough to be brought to justice and pay the penalty: they thought that a much heavier sentence had already been passed and was hanging over them, so they might as well have some enjoyment of life before it fell. (Thucydides *2. 53*)

This citation testifies to a social and political dismantling of the Athenian *polis* by the *loimos*. To demonstrate this more vividly, I would like to show a painting of Michiel Sweerts (1618-84) which depicts Thucydides' account of the *loimos*.

[8] On this see in general Kagan.

[9] On this, see Nielsen.

[10] Confer Orwin.

Plague in an Ancient City, *circa* 1652-54[11]

This painting shows the absolute despair of the Athenians. The *polis* has lost its direction. It is needless to repeat Thucydides' passage here again.[12] To cut a long story short, two features stand out. One is the empty building at the top of the picture, which is an allegory of a country that has disappeared; the other is that there is no cure for the disaster of the *loimos*: the doctor himself is in confusion. Neither gods nor family can be of any help in this situation, and Thucydides was an eyewitness to all this.

> The doctors could offer little help at first: they were attempting to treat the disease without knowing what it was, and in fact there was particularly high mortality among doctors because of their particular exposure. No other human skill could help either, and all supplications at temples and consulatations of oracles and the like were of no avail. In the end the people were overcome by the disaster and abondoned all efforts to escape it. (Thucydides 2. 47)

The scene painted by Sweerts is, however, a work of imagination based on a misunderstanding of history, because the war broke out at almost the same time as the *loimos* devastated the Athens *polis*. This means that there would have existed a strong government at the time. When the *loimos* visited Athens, Pericles was active as a statesman. The city needed at that time also to be united unanimously against the Spartans and, needless to say, Pericles' leadership was a strong and firm one. Hence, what should be seen more closely is that Athens was invaded by

[11] This is exhibited now in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. The image shown is taken from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Plague_in_an_Ancient_City_LACMA_AC1997.10.1_(1_of_2).jpg.

[12] On this see more in details J. Ahn (2020). <아테네 판데믹: 역병은 어떤 정치를 요구하는가? [Athene Pandemic: Yeokbyung-eun Eoddeon Jeongchi-leul Yoguhaneunga?] On Athenian loimos: What Politics is Required in the Pandemics?).

two enemies simultaneously, one a visible foe, the Lacedaemonians; the other, an "unseen ruin," *loimos*. That term "unseen ruin" is drawn from Sophocles' *The Women of Trachis*.

> Countless have been the labors I endured
> and none has ever triumphed over me.
> But now, my limbs disjointed, torn to shreds,
> I lie here vanquished by an unseen ruin –
> I whom they say a noble mother bore,
> I whom am called the son of starry Zeus. (*The Women of Trachis*, 1102-06)

"Unseen ruin" is a translation of "τυφλῆς ὑπ' ἄτης." When considered in the light of Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannos* which deals with the subject of *loimos* directly and explicitly,[13] the "ἄτη τυφλή" here also clearly refers to the *loimos*, and from this, it is also clear that the Athenians had to fight against two enemies. I would suppose that the number of those who fell victim to the *loimos* was greater than the number who were killed in the war.[14] However, it is difficult to invoke the struggle against the *loimos* in some warlike rhetorical slogan against Covid-19 now: all the Athenians could do was just to endure and to pray for the mercy of Zeus or the natural extinction of the plague. Hence, the situation of being under attack by two enemies obviously posed a dilemma for them: they had to unite solidly against the visible enemy, but could not gather together in one place against the invisible invader;[15] the more closely they gathered, the greater would be the numbers who died.

Thucydides talked little about this dilemma, as we saw, which can be explained by the fact that on one hand, the account was made some time after the events, and, on the other, that *ta symbebekota* of the *loimos* were considered to be consequences of the war and of the immaturity of Athenian democracy linked to social divisions and conflict in the *polis*. Thucydides observed these from the perspectives of the war and of the immaturity of the Athenian citizens.[16] Comparing the Athenian *loimos* with the modern-day Covid-19, however, there is a point to be noted, namely, that there might have been a crisis of political leadership caused by the *loimos*. This is not laid out in Thucydides' account and so is not obviously apparent. But having "two wars" to fight at the same time presented a dilemma: to survive one, the Athenians had to be scattered, but to win the other, they needed to gather together. To fight the invisible invader, they needed to keep "social distance", but against the visible enemy, they had to unite and gather in close proximity. Of course, there was no quarantine policy at that

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[13] See, R. Mitchell-Boyask, "5. Oedipus and the plague," 56-66.

[14] See Kagan, 106-107. According to him, more than 30 % of the population were sacrificed by the *loimos*.

[15] Confer Page, "The Plague is a πάθος, like war and in fact, it is a partner of war," 115.

[16] On this in general, see Kagan, 424-468.

time, so survival depended entirely on luck. Nonetheless, accordingly, it is certain that the *loimos* carried the political leadership into crisis. This is what Thucydides has to say:

> After the second Peloponnesian invasion, with their land devastated for the second time, and under the trouble burden of plague and war, the Athenians suffered a change of mind. They now began to blame Pericles for persuading them to war and held him responsible for the disasters that had befallen them: and they were ready to make terms with the Spartans – they did in fact send embassies to Sparta, without effect. Reduced to complete desperation, they turned on Pericles. He could see that they were resentful at the present situation and were reacting in all the ways which he had privately predicted: so he called a meeting (he was still general) with the intention of stiffening their resolve and drawing them away from anger to a more benign and confident frame of mind. (Thucydides 2.59)

Concerning in particular the discussion of the social *symbebkota* of the Athenian *loimos*, it is unfortunate that the *loimos* was not cited as significantly by Thucydides as were the war and the immaturity of democracy. There may have been two reasons for this: one, as seen earlier, that the account itself was a recollection; the other, that it is not easy to distinguish *ta symbebekota* of the *loimos* from those consequences that always come together with political crises.[17] With regard to the latter, Thucydides sa:

> What was happening was democracy in name, but in fact the domination of the leading man. Pericles' successors were more on a level with one another, and because each was striving for first position they were inclined to indulge popular whim even in matters of state policy. The result – inevitable in a great city with an empire to rule – was a a series of mistakes, most notably the Sicilian expedition. The error here was not so much a mistaken choice of enemy as the failure of those at home to relate their further decisions to the interests of the force they had sent out. Instead they allowed personal accusations made in the pursuit of political supremacy to blunt the effectiveness of the military, and for the first time there was factional discord in the city. (Thucydides 2.65)

Thucydides cites two problems. One is the whim of Athenian democracy, the other is the consolidation of tyranny. They brought the Athenian *polis* not only into the crisis which was described as "factional discord in the city," but also to a crushing defeat in the war. Thucydides mentions the Sicilian expedition as an example. What is interesting to see is that there is a similarity between *loimos* and tyranny: both are the inner enemy of the *polis*. They divide a *polis* into two bodies and turn citizens into opponents of each other, just as we have seen in the social and political divide in the recent presidential election in the United States. Sometimes, therefore, the inner enemies are more perilous than the enemies who attack from outside. I

[17] Confer Orwin 841-843.

think the most dangerous thing was the triad of war together with tyranny and *loimos*; and in the early period of the war, the Athenian *polis* underwent this triple yoking.

To return to the point, this issue of the dilemma between war and *loimos*, as we have seen, went almost unnoticed by Thucydides. Thus, I would here call on Euripides, whose play *Heracles mainomenos* might have been staged between 422 BCE and 416.[18] According to my reading, this drama was influenced by the *loimos,* just as *Oedipus the King*[19] and *The Women of Trachis*[20] of Sophocles were. It is remarkable that Heracles in Sophocles' *The Women of Trachis* is portrayed as a political victim of Deaneira's false judgment based on "fake news." In contrast, Heracles in *Heracles mainomenos* is presented as a political leader who misused his power at a cost to his family and people, not to his enemies, even though Theseus, at the end of the play, extols him as "the benefactor and great friend to mortals" (*Heracles mainomenos*, 1252). Heracles, engulfed by madness, slaughters his family – the savior turns into a destroyer. The power that liberated Thebes also destroys Thebes. From the perspective of mythology, this can be explained by the wrath of Hera; seen politically, however, the sudden change in Heracles is deliberately planned to make clear how terrifying is his leadership, so vitally important in the war against external enemies, but unacceptable when it comes to internal politics. In addition, this leadership could only be disastrous in the case of a war against an invisible enemy like *loimos*; in such a war, undoubtedly, a leadership based on patience and prudence is required. Amphitryon, the biological father of Heracles, asks him explicitly to have patience:

> My son, it is like you to show your love for your dear ones
> and your hate for your enemies, only curb excessive hastiness.
> (*Heracles mainomenos,* 585-586)

To make a long story short, let us then ask whether Heracles, a savior from external enemies and liberator of people from natural calamities, is fitted to be a proper fighter and leader facing the dilemma of war and *loimos*. He is not a suitable leader because while he could be welcomed in the war against the Spartans, he would not be against an unseen enemy. In this situation, his leadership becomes terrifying in the face of a combined attack from an external enemy and from the *loimos* coming at the same time. It is for this reason that Heracles in *Heracles mainomenos* is said to have been killed by the attack of an unseen enemy. Thus far, Heracles is considered to be a tragic hero[21] because he didn't know how perilous his power could be

[18] Confer Mitchell-Boyask, "1. Materials 1: The language of disease in tragedy," 29-30.

[19] Confer Mitchell-Boyask, "5. Oedipus and the plague," 56-66.

[20] Confer Mitchell-Boyask, "6. *The Trachinae* and the plague," 67-104.

[21] Confer Stafford, Ch. 3, "The Tragic Hero," and Ch. 4 "Vice and Virtue Incarnate."

not only to his family but also to himself.[22]This issue is not stressed by Thucydides; to be sure, he does give emphasis to evoke the prudent and solid leadership of a statesman like Pericles, manifest in the fact that he places the account of the *loimos* between two speeches in which Pericles praises and even glorifies the greatness of the Athenian polis in contrast to the anomie of the city's society under *loimos*.[23] Moreover, Thucydides portrays the *polis* at the time of the Sicilian expedition as a "headless state"(ἄκεφαλη πόλις). [24] The issue underlined by Thucydides was a leadership that fell between a combination of tyranny and the whim of democracy.[25] Seen metaphorically, this leadership itself was an "unseen ruin," a description that also applies to the leadership of Heracles, because he failed to realize that the way to keep courage from turning into madness was to be prudent, not to be hasty. Intoxicated with his power, he slaughtered his family as he killed Lykos.

With regard to the discussion of leadership, one may point out that the maxim "to show your love for your dear ones and your hate for your enemies" goes back to the old idea of justice based on the principle of "*suum cuique* (to each his own)".[26] It is *iustitia distributiva*. Looked at from this point of view, it can be said that Heracles' leadership may be categorized as *iustitia distributiva*. One may ask then whether leadership based on distributive justice is suitable in the event of a dilemma and whether it is always right and justified.[27] One can answer this by saying that it is not always right, as we see in the case of Heracles' leadership and the tragic end of an Athenian leadership rooted in tyranny coupled with partisanship.[28] Even at a rough guess, I would argue that a significant change in the understanding of the idea of justice took place during the Peloponnesian War, but one cannot undervalue the role of the *loimos* in the shift of world view and the way of seeing and coping with everyday life. This is manifest in the remarks of Thucydides:

> In other respects too the plague was the beginning of increased lawlessness in the city. People were less inhabited in the indulgence of pleasures previously concealed when they saw the rapid changes of fortune – the prosperous suddenly dead, and the once indigent now possessing their fortune. As a result they decided to look for satisfactions that were quick and pleasurable, reckoning that neither life nor wealth would last long. No one was prepared to persevere in what had once been thought the path of honour, as

[22] Confer Hsu, Ch.4, "Coping with Violence: Victory and Friendship."

[23] Confer Fins.

[24] Confer Jang.

[25] Confer Lee.

[26] Confer Plato, *Republic,* 1.332 c.

[27] Confer Mara, Ch. 5, "Proximate Others."

[28] KConfer Hsu, Ch.4, "Coping with Violence: Victory and Friendship in Euripides' Heracles."

> they could well be dead before that destination was reached. Immediate pleasure, and any means profitable to that end, became the new honour and the new value. No fear of god or human law was any constraint. Pious or impious made no difference in their view, when they see all dying withut distinction. As for offences against law, non one expected to live long enough to be brought to justice and pay the penalty: they thought that a much heavier sentence had already been passed and was hanging over them, so they might as well have some enjoyment of life before it fell. (Thucydides 2.53)

The citation makes clear that there was a great change of thought, view and even of *modus vivendi*. This kind of change was definitely affected by the *loimos*, not by the war that required a strong and conservative ideology. Thucydides considers the change in Athens as a move to decadence and anomie. From a modern perspective, however, it can be viewed as a deconstruction of old traditions for the resetting of a new society. Here one can say that the *symbebekota* were not entirely negative, but rather they brought about some positive outcomes because the *loimos* forced people to think about matters such as what is just and how to live one's life. For instance, the traditional justice of "*suum cuique*" was challenged in the face of the dilemma, as seen also in the case of Heracles, because it is necessary to find a new understanding of justice when faced with a dilemma and and under attack by an "unseen ruin." It was not a happening that prompted Plato to try to find a new and deeper understanding of justice in the *Republic*, because the old idea of justice based on "to show your love for your dear ones and your hate for your enemies" is not always applicable and indeed sometimes very dangerous both to *polis* and citizen.[29] In regard to this, Plato writes:

> "[Socrates] Good. In the same way tell me the art that renders what to whom would be dominated justice." [Polemarchos] "If we are to follow the previous examples, Socrates, it is that which renders benefits and harms to friends and enemies." [Socrates] "To do good to friends and evil to enemies, then, is justice in his meaning?" [Polemarchos] "I think so." (…) [Socrates] Shall we also say this that for those who are not at war the just man is useless? [Polemarchos] "By no means." [Socrates] "There is a use then even in peace for justice?" [Polemarchos] "Yes, it is useful." (…) [Socrates] "Then tell me, for the service and getting of what would you say that justice is useful in time of peace?" [Polemarchos] "In engagements and dealings, Socrates." (*Republic* 332d - 333a)

Two points stand out here. One is that Plato points to the notion of commutative justice to amend the problem of distributive justice. The other is that the maxim "to do good to friends and evil to enemies" was a definition first offered by Simonides. As a matter of fact, this old justice was firmly rooted in the soul of Athenians because it had been praised earlier by Odysseus:

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[29] Confer Mara. Ch. 4, 'Culture's Justice."

> For nothing is greater or better than this, when man and wife dwell in a home in one accord, a great grief to their foes and a joy to their friends. (*Odyssey*, 6. 182-84)

This justice, I think, is a natural principle of living beings.[30] It is thus a difficult task to suggest a new understanding of it. But Plato did succeed in supplementing or amending the idea of justice. The point is that he could not have succeeded in doing so without the *loimos*, because the state of anomie had previously arisen, and the traditional morals and ethics were already undermined by that plague.

To conclude, it is at last time to answer the question of why to read Thucydides. To do this, a comparison of the Athenian *loimos* with Covid-19 is called for. Against Covid-19, we have a vaccine and also a quarantine policy. Against the *loimos*, Athenians had no vaccine, and it was impossible for the *polis* even to think about any quarantine policy. The *loimos* as a natural disease is different from Covid-19 in this respect. But seen as social diseases, the two are almost the same. Rather to say, the case of Covid-19 as a social disease is much more terrifying than the Athenian *loimos* in the sense that the latter was a national epidemic, while the first is a global pandemic, moreover coming in tandem with climate change. Nobody knows now what will come next. Even so, what is not changed is that the *symbebekota* of the virus as a social disease, whatever they may be, play out in almost the same pattern. The reason why we should read Thucydides is made clear when he is viewed from this perspective. The ‘unseen ruin’ of society has never been changed and even is getting stronger.

[30] On this, see further, Plato. *Republic,* 335 d-336 a, *Crito* 49 b-c; Xenophon. *Memorabilia* 2.3.14, 2.6..35; Isocrates 1. 26; Pindar. *Pythian* 2.85; Aeschylus, *Libation Bearers* 123.

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Sophocles Philoctetes 1019[1]

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Abstract and Introduction

The purposes of this short textual note on the verse Sophocles Philoctetes 1019 are: to make a rather detailed report on the text of this line which was almost unanimouly transmitted by four mediaeval manuscripts of Sophocles (manuscripts A,U,Y, and Z_o[2]), to show that this reading of the line is, though it has been completely neglected by all the modern editors of Sophocles since the *editio princeps* by Aldus Manutius, grammatically sound, to show that the line as transmitted by the four manuscripts can be sound and meaningful also in terms of theatrical performance. As a sort of finale to the paper, I will attach an appendix which will show that this neglected text can work as an effective part within the whole tragedy. Numbers inserted above in this paragraph correspond to the numbers of the sections of this paper.

The most convenient way for us, the reader and the author of the article, to share the information about what happened concerning the transmission of the line is to cite the text by Lloyd-Jones and Wilson first and the *ap. cr.* by Dawe (in the third edition).[3] A few lines without *ap. cr.* are prefixed for the sake of later comments (I consider that the underlined parts should be modified. I will show the modificated form in Section 2.)

καὶ νῦν ἔμ᾽, ὦ δύστηνε, συνδήσας νοεῖς
ἄγειν ἀπ᾽ ἀκτῆς τῆσδ᾽, ἐν ᾗ με προυβάλου
ἄφιλον ἔρημον ἄπολιν, ἐν ζῶσιν νεκρόν. 1018
φεῦ.

[1] Philological and interpretative observations included in this paper are a revised English version of what I published in Japanese; Anzai, M., "Sophocles Philoctetes 1019," *Philologica XIII*, Tokyo, 2018, pp. 31-40.

[2] A : Parisinus Graecus 2712. Y : Codex Vindobonensis philosophicus philologicus Graecus 48. I made sure of the readings of these manuscripts through the Internet. U : Venetus Marcianus Graecus 467=coll. 764 : Z_o : Florentinus C. S. 172 + Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus 287. The latter two manuscripts were checked by the help of two respective microfilms sent to me by the arrangements of the honorable libraries where they are kept. I here sincerely express my thanks to the librarians of the four libraries who helped me in many ways. Z_o (the part of this manuscript where tragedies of Euripides are transmitted is called by the initial of P) belongs to the contaminated class, and therefore is not a direct child of π (see below in this note), the father of *gemelli* AUY. For basic assessements around Paris Class (π) of Sophocles manuscripts, see Turyn 173-83.

[3] In his third edition Dawe changed the text at the point which I am going to discuss from the vulgate reading (ὄλοιο· καί σοι...) and followed (in other words "pesuaded by") the change taken by Lloyd-Jones and Wilson, (ὄλοιο· καίτοι...). Therefore, though the expression may be a little strange, the hybrid composition of citations here which was prefered in this article would be historically more correct suitable. The *apparatus criticus* by Dawe is more useful and kind than that of Lloyd-Jones and Wilson.

ὄλοιο· καίτοι πολλάκις τόδ᾽ ηὐξάμην. 1019

1019 φεῦ om. KS | καίτοι Wakefield : καὶ σὺ AUYZo | καί σοι rell. et γρ. AUY | ηὐξάμην LKQ εὐξ- L s.l., rell.

[And now, O! Wretched one, you have a plan of dragging me in bondage
from this shore where once you deserted me, as a lonely and friendless
existence without polis-society, a mere corpse in the eyes of living human beings]

I would not like to give a translation of the line 1019 itself and φεῦ (extra metrum). It is simply because I think that the line (1019), neither in the form as printed above (with καίτοι) nor in the form as has been printed in numerous Sophoclean editions within the Sophoclean vulgate tradition (with a sentence beginning with καί σοι), is translatable. Until the last decade of 20th century, editors of Sophcles have almost unanimously printed καί σοι, which is the majority reading in the mediaeval Sophoclean manuscripts. But in their new edition of Sophocles of 1990, Lloyd-Jones and Wilson gave up printing the reading here of traditional Sophoclean editions and decided to print instead the conjecture suggested by Wakefield in late 18th century. An edition by Pucci and others followed the lead of new OCT Sophocles and (the third edition of) Dawe, but without any meaningful positive comments.[4]

As to the points touched by Lloyd-Jones and Wilson's *Sophocea* on this problem[5], I would like to make the following criticism : If an editor of an ancient book thinks that he should remove at a place in the book a popular reading transmitted in the majority of mediaeval manuscripts, what he should do next is, obviously, to check the possibility of accepting the minority reading. If the decision made after the rejection of the popular reading is to print a conjecture by a modern philologist, and not the minority reading, and if this decision meant his negative evaluation of minority reading in the form of 'rejection in silence' of the editor, I must say I am against the editor.

What follows is the report of my inspection of *Philoctetes* 1019 in four 14th-century manuscripts.

I think the most honest and obedient way to express the commands given us by the written letters and puctuations in the four manuscripts (and the father {π}, of the *gemelli* A, U, and Y) will be, if we express them according to the forms of modern conventions;

φεῦ.
ὄλοιο καὶ σύ· πολλάκις τόδ᾽ ηὐξάμην.

[4] For example, Pucci and others *ad loc.* : καίτοι: 'è congettura di Wakefield accolta da Lloyd-Jones e Dawe. I manoscritti leggono καί σοι o καὶ σὺ.' This is not a comment from a committed commentator. No linguistic or contextual explanation is written. Even the positive evaluation for the decision by Lloyd-Jones and Wilson is absent here.

[5] H.Lloyd-Jones and N.G.Wilson. *Sophoclea; Studies on the Text of Sophocles*, Oxford 1990, 204-5.

[Ah, the destruction take you too![6] Oft times I prayed this pray.]

I handed a color-copy of the page concerned in Codex Y to the audience at my paper-reading of the article reported in footnote 1). The points in the photocopy of Codex Y were : 1. σύ is with grave accent (unanimous in four manuscripts); 2) the punctuation after σὺ can be interpreted as a full-stop or a half-stop heavier than a comma,[7] 3) a space between σὺ and πολλάκις is clear to identify. The space is visibly a little wider than the other spaces elsewhere between the words written in the line (at least in Y).

I conclusion was that the form of Greek words printed above would be an obvious conclusion from the inquiry into the four manuscripts in accordance with the contemporary conventions concerning the accentuations and punctuations of Ancient Greek Language. And I think this form of the line deserves a serious evaluation. The part before the Caesura of the line contains the curse from Philoctetes to 'a specific' Odysseus (see the theatrical reconstruction discussed in details in the following section) in the form of Oratio Recta.[8] The latter half of the line is a statement of the historical fact that the curse uttered by Philoctetes has been repeatedly put against the specific Odysseus. And the more important fact is that this statement is being given not to the 'specific' Odysseus, but to a 'real' Odysseus, who is now on the *proskene* together with the speaker Philoctetes before the presence of the audience.

A little complicated rebuilding of the scene will be the theme of coming section. Before passing to the next stage of exegesis, however, I think I should make comments on the linguistic problems potentially involved in the line above. It is about the grammatical term *asyndeton*. Though there are two short sentences in the line shown above, we cannot see any connecting particles, which usually are considered to be necessary for Greek sentences when they are connected into some context. The number of connecting particles which would be necessary here in this line would be, in maximum, two (one for the sentence ὄλοιο καὶ σύ·, another for πολλάκις τόδ' ηὐξάμην.) The lack of a connecting particle in the former sentence (ὄλοιο καὶ σύ·) is easy to accept. The sentence is after an emotionally charged interjection (φεῦ), and in such cases the sentence following the interjection needs, in a usual case, no connecting particle in Greek.[9] As for the lack in the latter sentence, we need a much clearer and a fairly detailed explanation.

6 'you too' should be taken to mean 'you as well as me'. This interpretation is an obvious one to me. See the discussion in sections 2, 3, and 4.

7 A period or a colon or a semicolon (unfortunately, it is usual that we cannot decide on the kinds in mediaeval manuscripts) is clearly put with space rather decidedly wider than usual in A and Y. As to the line in U and Z_o, I should say that they are not with a clearly visible punctuation. I explained some of these comments showing a color-copy of the page which contains *Philoctetes* 1019 of manuscript Y, when I read my paper, *Sophocles Philoctetes 1019*, at Seijo University October 2017, which was eventually published in the article form in Philologica XIII (see note 1).

8 I sincerely request the reader of this article to take my exegesis of the line as only a trial of the interpretation of this line.

9 For example, φεῦ· (extra metrum) ἦ δεινὸν ᾧ δοκῇ γε καὶ ψευδῆ δοκεῖν. *Ant.* 323. Here ἦ is an adverbial particle qualifying the statement by a guard. Therefore the sentence beginning with ἦ lacks a connecting particle (asyndetic connection).

A rebuilding (or refinding) of *Philoctetes* 1019 above according to what was written in AUYZ$_o$ certainly produces the lack of connecting particle for the sentence in the latter half of the verse (πολλάκις τόδ᾽ ηὐξάμην.). This kind of asyndetic connection in Greek, however, is usual. When two sentences, one expressing that there was a speech by someone and the other reporting the speech itself in Oratio Recta, are connected, in many cases, with the help of demonstrative pronouns, they seldom need the help of connecting particle. These innumerable instances of asyndetic combinations of sentences, not with the help of connecting particles, but with the help of demonstratives are, in a more general way, formulated by Denniston-Dover (xliii-iv)[10] in the following way:

> (i) The preceding context makes the connexion obvious, and no particle is required to point it. This is the case where a writer or speaker directly or indirectly announces his theme in advance, and where a forward-pointing pronoun or demonstrative adverb, or some other word or phrase, supplies the link (underlined by Anzai).[11]

The formulation does not directly explain the asyndeton we are facing. Our case is explained by the second formulation:

> (ii) To a less degree, a backward-pointing pronoun or demonstrative adverb, usually at or near the opening of the sentence, similarly diminished the necessity for a connecting particle (underlined by Anzai).[12]

Our case in *Philoctetes* 1019 just accords with this latter formulation, and the helping demonstrative here in *Philoctetes* 1019 is τόδ᾽. In spite of the authoritative frequency judgment by Denniston-Dover that the second type is employed ‘to a lesser degree,’ we can find a close parallel easily in a place very near to our verse:

> ἐγώ, σάφ᾽ ἴσθ᾽, οὐκ ἄλλος· ὁμολογῶ τάδε.
> [Certainly I did it. Not someone else. I confess this]
> *Philoctetes* 980

To sum up, a trouble around the transmission of the verse *Philoctetes* 1019 has been caused by our inaccurate knowledge of the asyndetic connection of Greek sentences. On the surface, the error might have been caused in the small change from συ (AUYZ$_o$) to σοι (*rell.*).[13] But it has involved the change of punctuation, and inevitably the change in the interpretation of the verse, particularly of the effect by the sentence-connecting particle. But I think I should rather say the change happened in the following way: the leading force in this direction towards the Sophoclean vulgate (ὄλοιο· καί σοι πολλάκις τόδ᾽ ηὐξάμην) both in its medieval transmission and printed editions might have been,

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[10] Denniston, J. D. *The Greek Particles*. Revised by K. J. Dover. 2nd ed., Oxford UP 1950, xliii-iv.

[11] Since Deniston-Dover cites only a few examples, I add the following : ὁ (=Ξέρξης) δὲ Περσέων συναλίσας τοὺς (=οὕς in Attic) καὶ πρότερον συνέλεξε, ἔλεξέ σφι τάδε. ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε ὅτι ... Hdt. 7. 13. 1.

[12] *ib.* xliv.

[13] I believe that this is what has happened in the history of the Sophoclean manuscript tradition. Not the other way round. Evidently this happened long before the birth of Manuscipt L of Sophocles.

not an accidental change in one letter or two, but a strong belief that Greek sentences need the help of connecting particles for them to be built into a proper context. It is possible that the first failure was of punctuation in order to 'restore' the meaning of καί to its seemingly proper function as a connecting particle. The change from σύ to σοι might have happened later following this change to 'restore' the meaning of καί.

Whatever has happened in the mediaeval manuscript transmission of the verse 1019 of *Philoctetes*, the belief in the necessary force of Greek connecting particles seems to be still alive. The belief has been strong not only for five hundred years since the creation of the Sophoclean vulgate, but also for a few decades, after editors had begun to give up printing καί σοι. The belief in the necessity of connecting particles in Classical Greek Language has been so forceful that even after the giving up of καί as a sentence-connecting particle in the Sophoclean vulgate, the editors thought they still needed help from a connecting particle here. What they have done is just to replace καί by another connecting particle, καίτοι.

To give a finishing form to the discussion in this section, I would like to show the text which I believe to be near the truth (the underlined parts are my responsibility). Just for the convenience of the reader of this article I add a set of quotation marks to make the understanding and explanation easier in the present and the next section.

καὶ νῦν ἔμ᾽, ὦ δύστηνε, συνδήσας νοεῖς
ἄγειν ἀπ᾽ ἀκτῆς τῆσδ᾽, ἐν ᾗ με προυβάλου
ἄφιλον ἔρημον ἄπολιν, ἐν ζῶσιν νεκρόν. 1018
φεῦ.
"ὄλοιο καὶ σύ·" πολλάκις τόδ᾽ ηὐξάμην.

[Ah, the destruction take you too! Ofttimes I prayed this prayer.]
1019 φεῦ om. KS | καὶ σὺ AUYZ$_o$ | καί σοι rell. et γρ. AUY | ηὐξάμην LKQ εὐξ- L s.l., rell.

Although the grammatical defence of the AUYZ$_o$ reading of *Philoctetes* 1019 seems to me to have been, I hope, properly and fully conveyed, there still remain awkward points for the defender of the recovered readings to explain, as long as he believes that AUYZ$_o$ represent the true transmission of the *Philoctetes* text here.

They, Philoctetes and Odysseus, are making here a conversation on the *proskene*. A grotto is painted on the *skene*, behind the two actors. In front of them a shore is imagined, and beyond the shore the Aegean Sea, of course, could be imagined. Who is speaking? To whom? From the line 1016 to the first part of 1017, the answer will be an easy one. Philoctetes is speaking to Odysseus who is just in front of his (=Philoctetes') mask. The finite verb (νοεῖς, 2sg. pres. indicative and active) describes a possible action, which will be surely acted by the 'real' Odysseus. The inference is being spoken, from another point of view, in front of the audience and spectators. Philoctetes is making an inference, with anger and fear, that Odysseus is surely going to bind his arms and legs violently and is going to draw his body alive to the Trojan battlefield from this shore (ἀπ᾽ ἀκτῆς τῆσδ᾽), which could be imagined to be before them and before the audience. The relative clause with ἀκτῆς as the antecedent of the relative changes the scene. The main verb of the clause (προυβάλου, 2sg. aor. indicative and middle), although the actor (=Odysseus) of the verb is certaily still before us (the audience and spectotors and the readers of *Philoctetes*), the described action itself belongs to the past, ten years ago. It is the action of leaving the wounded Philoctetes alone without any colleagues, without any social relations, relations that are necessary for a man to be called as a member of fully equipped human beings, as one who can be said to be alive in this world (ἐν ζῶσιν ἀνθρώποις). This action of leaving Philoctetes on the shore was surely done, but the action of leaving is purely imaginary one, or, in other words, belongs to the past world, for us and for the actors, although the shore is certainly before us. And of course, the mask of Philoctetes continues to be fixed on the shore through this part of his speech, from the beginning of the latter part of 1017 to the last word of 1018 (νεκρόν).

After an interjection in *extra metrum*, the words of curse from Philoctetes to 'you' are put (surely in the form of Oratio Recta). And the words of comments or explanation from the mouth of seemingly a 'real' Philoctetes are to give us a hint that will make us fully understand the first part of line of the 1019: "Many times I cried this curse, 'The destruction take you too.'"

But who is 'you' in ὄλοιο καὶ σύ exactly? I ask this question because this 'you' clearly does not indicate the same person as 'you' of νοεῖς. The latter 'you' is surely before Phiіoloctes on the stage, and he, Philoctetes, is speaking to this 'you,' at least as the subject of the verb, νοεῖς. But 'you' in ὄλοιο καὶ σύ is not the Odysseus himself before Philoctetes on the *proskene*. If it were so, ὄλοιο καὶ σύ would mean the wish by Philoctetes that the person before himself in the same way as he was ten years ago. We do not know whether Philoctetes is still hoping that physical and social destruction is upon him, 'the real Odysseus in front of himself'. It might be possible. But the context is not about the presence nor absence of hate, or anger. Philoctetes says "Ofttimes I prayed (aor.) this prayer." The words do not say clearly nor make sure that the hate or the curse is still in his mind. The first voice of the curse was thrown in the past. Philoctetes is not speaking about his hate and despair at the moment. He only says the fact that he repeated the curse to the Odysseus iagined on the beach or on the boat.

The preceding lines (the words after ἀπ᾽ ἀκτῆς τῆσδ᾽) depict the scene where, ten years ago, Odysseus and his colleagues deserted Philoctetes on the very shore where the two heroes are talking now. They, Odysseus and his colleagues, had left him on the shore. They had, I imagine, surely got on board a ship. The ship had left the shore. This is the best moment, it seems to me, for Philoctetes to utter for the first time the sentence of curse, ὄλοιο καὶ σύ. Just after the curse in Oratio Recta, Philoctetes says to Odysseus before him that he has repeated the curse many times.

Is this too much, too many, too complex, for the audience to accept? Just the opposite! If we give focus to the turns and movements of Philoctetes' mask, these complex explanations by me are, I think, will become very easy to accept. First, Philoctetes speaks to Odysseus, who is really in front of him (νοεῖς 'You are now thinking ...'). Then, from the words ἀπ᾽ ἀκτῆς τῆσδ᾽ on, his mask leaves from the 'real' Odysseus and turns towards the shore, the place where the leaving alone of Philoctetes took place, which will be, in terms of the structure of the theater, the center of the edge-line of the *proskene*, the edge-line which separates the *proskene* from the *orchestra*. I imagine that the direction of the focus of the mask of Philoctetes' moved, after the moment when Philoctetes had voiced the last word of 1018 (νεκρόν), towards further into the center of the rows of spectator's seats, where, to my view, the back of leaving Odysseus is best imagined ten years ago. Then the curse to the person (Odysseus), who is to be imagined there (around the center of audience's seats, in terms of the real buildings of Dionysus' Theater), is thrown. Finally the mask turns back again towards the person, 'the real Odysseus,' who is present before him, and the comment ('ofttimes the curse have been repeated by me.') is spoken to the the 'real Odysseus.'

The narrative movement of *Philoctetes* is simple. Ten years ago, there was a disastrous accident to the body of Philoctetes, and the Achaean army judged that the hero would be harmful to the completion of the army's purpose. They decided that they should leave him alone on the island. Ten years later, Odysseus now has a knowledge that the Achaean army needs Philoctetes as a key fighter to realize their final goal and their return to their home country. Negative emotion (hate to Odysseus and the Achaean army) from the hero is an obstacle to this desirable movement from the hate of one hero (Philoctetes) against another (Odysseus) and the Achaean army to the cooperation. The movement is from the impasse to the restarting (χωρῶμεν 1469).

We see here in my citation above, a clear picture of things which are taking place in the mind of the hero, Philoctetes, if we choose the AUYZ$_{o}$ reading of *Philoctetes* 1019 (ὄλοιο καὶ σύ· πολλάκις τόδ᾽ ηὐξάμην.) He shows his recognition of what he must choose for the future of the Achaean army and of himself, although here it is still a primitive and somewhat negative feeling, the feeling of fear against going to Troy (ἔμ᾽ ... συνδήσας νοεῖς ἄγειν). He shows that he recognizes the things which stand against the decision for him to go to Troy in the relative clause (ἐν ᾗ με προυβάλου / ἄφιλον ἔρημον ἄπολιν, ἐν ζῶσιν νεκρόν), the anger for what Odysseus and his colleague had done to him ten years before. Giving voice to the memory of this anger, he cries the cry which was going to be repeated for ten years after the first utterance: ὄλοιο καὶ σύ·. Just after a moment with Caesura, a sudden and violent (in a sense) change comes to his mind. The recollection and reevaluation of his own past action, what he has repeated for these ten years: "I often repeated this cry of anger and hate for the whole ten years!" The voice has been spoken to the actor of this very action or decision hateful to himself! Is this not a great and dramatic step towards the final solution and goal, reconciliation between the two heroes and a positive start towards what is desirable for everyone, the giving up of a negative oneself through the recognition (or confession?) by oneself, before the face of once hated existence. Is this not a great start for a mentally wounded person towards a very desirable cure by himself, through a recognition of one's own unhappy past, through the confession to the very originator of the disaster, who is (to his own view) responsible for his own hate in the past? Is it not a form of cure, a form of communication (confession?) of one's own negative past with others?

This paper's goal has been to establish the reading by the manuscripts of the four mediaeval manuscripts of the verse 1019 of the *Philoctetes* of Sophcles into its proper place. I think that the minimum that is necessary for the reappraisal and reestablishment of the reading in the direct context of the verse which I cited at the start of the paper (*Philoctetes* 1016-9) has been done. Therefore I would like to stop talking about the importance of the recovered truth in terms of the work *Philoctetes* as a theatrical narration.

I think that the minimum that is necessary for the reappraisal and reestablishment of the manuscript reading in A, U, Y, Z_o of *Philoctetes* 1019, in the direct context of the verse which I cited at the start of the paper (*Philoctetes* 1016-9) has been done.

Aldus Manutius, who produced the *editio princeps* of Sophocles on the basis of Y,[14] must have been in a similar situation as I am. Before him there must have been many other witnesses of the majority reading (with ὄλοιο· καί σοι ...), which showed different reading from the Y-reading. Although his last choice was to print the majority reading, I imagine that he must have felt a certain amount of hesitation between the two options. It was unfortunate that a means to express the hesitation (such as, γρ. καὶ συ· AUY) was not available for him because of the poorer capacity of printing in his *editio princeps*.

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[14] Y was basically the basis of his *editio princeps* of Sophocles. See Turyn, 176 n2.

The Muziris Papyrus and the Eastern Maritime Trade in High Roman Empire Economy

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Abstract

It can be inferred from the Muziris Papyrus that the goods in Eastern maritime trade were not always luxuries. The practitioners, such as the debtors and the creditors, were quite rich. With the advent of *Pax Romana*, the increase of consumption, the boost of political electoral campaigns, and the prevalence of extravagant lifestyles, the Eastern maritime trade became more important in the Roman economy. Every year as much as 2 billion cargoes were shipped to Roman Empire and the imperial fiscal revenue benefited greatly. In short, the Eastern maritime trade in the early period of the Roman Empire was more complex and greater in scale than it used to be imagined.

Key Words: Eastern maritime trade; early empire economy; *Muziris Papyrus*

This paper concentrates on the operation and role of the Eastern maritime trade in the heyday of the economy of the Roman Empire. Since the eighteenth century, most scholars insisted that the exchanges between the Roman Empire and the Eastern World, which concerned mostly luxurious goods, played a marginal role in the Empire's economy, and the amount was limited.[1] However, during the last decade, with the rapid increase of new historical data (especially papyri, inscriptions, land and underwater archaeological materials) (Tomber 16-17, 39) and the employment of new approaches (the most influential of which is Purcell and Horden's micro-ecology), some of the stereotypes put forward by earlier scholars mainly based on literature from Western perspectives and focusing on goods, have been adjusted and corrected.[2] However, most of the conclusions are drawn mainly from descriptive materials. In this paper, based on the Muziris Papyrus in addition to other literary, epigraphic, archaeological evidence, I am trying to demonstrate two aspects in more detail with the help of approaches of quantification and comparison: firstly, to answer specific questions closely related to operation as the goods were brought in and out, the scale of trade, and ways of financing; secondly, to focus on the contributions of the Eastern maritime trade to the heyday of Empire economy.

[1] For a discussion of the academic history of this topic, see Federico De Romanis and Marco Maiuro, editors, *Across the Ocean: Nine Essays on Indo-Mediterranean Trade*, Brill, 2015, pp.1-5.

[2] The works on Indo-Roman maritime trade are plentiful. The followings are some of the much-quoted ones: V. Begley and R. De Puma, editors, *Rome and India: The Ancient Sea Trade,* U of Wisconsin P, 1991; Roberta Tomber, *Indo-Roman Trade: From Pots to Pepper*, Bristol Classical Press, 2008; G. Parker, *The Making of Roman India*, Cambridge UP, 2008; R. McLaughlin, *The Roman Empire and the Indian Ocean: The Ancient World Economy and the Kingdoms of Africa, Arabia and India,* Pen and Sword Military, 2014; and M.A. Cobb, *Rome and the Indian Ocean Trade from Augustus to the Early Third Century CE.*, Brill, 2018.

The Muziris Papyrus

Before the Roman conquest of Egypt, maritime contacts existed to some extent between the Indian subcontinent and Egypt.[3] Nevertheless, even in the late Ptolemaic Dynasty, the contacts were still indirect and infrequent. With the 'discovery' of the Indian monsoon, the spread of Mediterranean ship building technology, the development of infrastructures such as the roads connecting the ports both on the Red Sea and the Nile, and the expansion of the consumer market of eastern goods, the period from Augustus up to the early 3rd century CE witnessed the boom of the Eastern maritime trade,[4] and two relatively fixed maritime routes came into being between the Indian subcontinent and the Mediterranean Basin by the beginning of the Christian era.[5] Since the era of Augustus, long distance maritime route played a greater role compared with the coastal shipping. But it is necessary to point out that although long distance maritime route had such advantages as greater speed, larger capacity and less political troubles, it could not take the place of overland or coastal trade completely. D. Rathbone estimated that the value of maritime trade across the Red Sea or that of the coastal trade passing Palmyra is roughly equal (47).

Maritime routes are just the starting point. We have to investigate their operation and impact with the help of literary works written by Strabo and Pliny and the archaeological materials unearthed in recent years. However, as is well known, although literary texts are indispensable, as far as ancient economic history is concerned, their reliability and representativeness are always much questioned; even the archaeological materials are influenced by their limits, bias and particularity.[6]

In recent years, papyrological evidence has attracted much attention. This is because what is recorded in the documentary papyri is more reliable than other literary sources. One virtue of the non-literary or documentary papyri is "their unconscious and ephemeral character." Without any purpose of personal reputation or to warn later generations, their reliability is greater than inscriptions "which were designed for public view and for posterity, and whose candor is not always over suspicion;" moreover, papyri illustrated "the common life of the time, popular culture, religious ideas, habits and amusements, and they are to be seen following their ordinary daily pursuits, with a refreshing absence of pose and advertisement." It can be said that the materials in papyri are more representative than those "in the pages of the ancient historians, where the limelight is commonly

[3] See Schneider, "Fauces Rubri Maris" 206-11, Begley and De Puma, *Rome and India* 113-124; amphora, pp. 134-150; pottery, 157-196; bronze vessel, 82-112. For coins see W. Ball, *Rome in the East* 127.

[4] See Cobb, *Rome and the Indian Ocean Trade* 287-302 and Thorley, "The Development of Trade" 209-223.

[5] See Pollard, "The Mediterranean" 458. The two routes are called by Frank and Gills *nexus corridor* in the pre-modern world system. The other one is from the Aegean Sea and the Black Sea to Central Asia. See Frank and Gills, *The World System* 88-90.

[6] About the limitations of literary and archaeological materials, see Chen Siwei, "Trees and Forest" 191-194.

focused upon outstanding personalities" (Hunt and Edgar, *Select Papyri,* x-xi). Roger Bagnall points out the importance papyri played in the research into ancient social and economic history. He tells us that

> within the world of the ancient Mediterranean, no society offers the array of evidences for the workings of cultural interaction in the lives of a wide spectrum of individuals that the Egypt of the papyri does; and to the extent that we come to be able to understand other parts of the ancient world as we can Egypt, it will be by discoveries of papyrus-like texts. (100)

He also points out that if we do "close analysis, the language [of papyri], information from other sources about the cultural context, and common-sense rejection of some possibilities on the basis of underlying assumptions about human behavior" is not far from the truth (28).

The papyrus discussed here was bought by the National Library of Austria in 1980. Because the recto recorded a transcript of a maritime loan between Muziris (the most important port in South India) and Alexandria, it is called Muziris Papyrus. The provenance of the papyrus is unknown, but as it was not cartonnage, most scholars infer it might come from a Fayyum village or from Oxyrhynchus. The two original ends of the papyrus were torn off in antiquity in order to use the blank ends remaining on the recto and verso for other texts; this left the central part with writing on both sides, which survived, because it was then thrown away (Rathbone, "The Muziris Papyrus" 39; Harrauer and Sijpesteijn, "Ein neues Dokument" 129). The origin and use of the papyrus verify the fact that to some extent the eastern trade was in the hands of individual traders.[7] Thus, we may safely conclude that the Muziris Papyrus was probably a normal typical loan contract in the 2nd century. Since its first translation and annotation by H. Harrauer and P.J. Sijpesteijn in 1985, the papyrus was much valued and became an indispensable document for research into the maritime trade between Egypt and India in the early Roman Empire.[8] Cascio lays special stress on the document: "The exceptional Muziris Papyrus is the indisputable cornerstone ... because it provides us with a seemingly reliable assessment of the qualitative and, more importantly, quantitative dimension of the maritime trade that tied the Roman Empire to the Indian subcontinent"(Cascio 165)

The recto of the papyrus is about the operation of the maritime trad[9] Scholars dispute much about whether the recto is a normal maritime loan contract, a

[7] Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History* 2: 576-577;Warmington, *Commerce* 310-311. Archaeological facts indicate that the infrastructures of the Red Sea ports were fairly simple and crude from the first century BCE to the third century CE. We can infer what the Empire cared for was not trade but transit taxes; the maritime trade was controlled by individual merchants (Tomber, *Indo-Roman Trade* 154.

[8] See Harrauer and Sijpesteijn, "Ein neues Dokument;" Casson, "P. Vindob G 40822" and "New Light;" G. Thür, "Zum Seedarlehen;" and Rathbone, "The Muziris Papyrus."

[9] For the translation of the recto, refer to D. Rathbone, "The Muziris Papyrus" 40.

supplement to a separate contract, or a contract dealing with the loan pledge. Even the place where the papyrus was written is disputed.[10] But these disputes are not what the paper focuses on. Although the heading had been discarded, the operation and the routes of the maritime trade are quite clear. The debtor and merchant got quite a large amount of money from the creditor for the goods he would buy in India as pledge. When the monsoon blew southeastward, he shipped the goods to some port (maybe Myos Hormos) on Egyptian Red Sea coast. When reaching the port, with the help of the ἐπιτροπαῖ or φροντισταῖ of the creditor, the goods were carried across the eastern desert of Egypt by camels. After six or seven days of travel, they arrived at the port in Koptos, midstream on the Nile.[11] Then the ship sailed down to Alexandria and the goods were taxed one quarter in kind there. All the taxes, the freight of the camels and the ship were undertaken by the creditor. After arriving in Alexandria, the goods could be sold by the debtor, but he must pay off the loan and interest at the given time;[12] in order to assure a quicker return of the money, the debtor could resell the cargo "at the price current at the time" to the creditor. According to the routine of maritime loans, if the subject cargoes were completely or partially lost because of all the irresistible damages incurred from storms or pirates during the voyage, the liability of the debtor could be discharged (Chen Siwei, "An Attempted Analysis" 29).

The verso of the papyrus--parts of whose lines were the next to the column and the whole of what appeared to the final column of the cargoes carried by the ship *Hermapollon*—illustrate the scale of the maritime trade between Roman Egypt and India and indicate the role of eastern trade in the Roman social economy in some respects.[13] It is generally acknowledged (Rathbone, "The Muziris Papyrus" 43; Casson, "New Light"198) that there were four columns on the verso, recording the kinds, weight and value of the cargoes, but now only the last column was relatively intact (the next to the last was badly damaged, only some of the weight and value units were left[14]). Even so, the implication of the last column indicate that only very rich people in Egypt could invest such an enormous capital. Because all the goods had been taxed at the custom office in Alexandria (the rate was 25% in kind), the amount listed on the verso was only three-fourth of the cargo shipped from India. There were 60 boxes of Gangetic nard (each box valued at 4500 dr.) worth 45 t. of silver; 78 talents of 54.75 mina ivory in good condition (each mina valued at 100 dr.) worth 76 t. 4500 dr. of silver;[15] 12 talents 27 mina

[10] For further discussion, see Rathbone, "The Muziris Papyrus" 39-40.

[11] See Strabo, *Geographica*, 17. 815. If the goods were unloaded in Berenice, it would take 11 or 12 days according to Pliny, *Naturalis Historia,* 6.103.

[12] In the 4th century BCE, maritime loans must be paid off within 20 days after the goods reached their destination in Athens. But Rathbone assumed that the loan here was too great, it might have to be paid off within a year. See Rathbone, "The Muziris Papyrus" 42.

[13] For the translation of the verso, consult D. Rathbone, "The Muziris Papyrus" 43-45; L. Casson, "New Light"200-202.

[14] For the goods of the next to the last column. see L. Casson, "New Light" 197-198.

[15] Talent, mina and drachma were used by the people around the Eastern Mediterranean both as weight and monetary value. To distinguish these, the complete word refers to weight, and abbreviations such as t. and dr. refer to monetary value. Moreover, because of the taxation and transition of unit of weight, the calculation becomes very complex. In Casson's paper the value is 76 t. 5675 dr. but in the version Rathbone copied for me 78 t. 5245 dr.

fragment ivory (each mina valued at 75 dr.) worth 8 t. 5582.5 dr. of silver[16]; the total value of ivory worth 85 t. 5557.5 dr. of silver.[17] With four other items, the cargo that the merchant bought in India this time was only 7190 pounds (about 3.3 tons), but its total value was 1154 t. 2852 dr.! It is possible that because of taxation, the change of units of weight and currency, our calculations may have some errors. But the errors are still acceptable and do not affect our overall evaluation of the scale of the maritime trade and the economic status of the participants.

The point we should pay much attention to is that the value recorded in the papyrus had discounted the taxes. Before the taxes were paid, the cargoes in *Hermapollon* would rise to more than 9 million (9,215,803) dr. Furthermore, although the papyrus does not make clear whether it was the price paid by the merchant when buying the goods in India or the sale price in Alexandria, from the context the value might be the sale price in Alexandria. Then, what was the money he paid for the merchandise in India? Pliny the Elder recorded the sale prices of some eastern goods in Rome, and alleged that the merchants sold these goods to Romans for more than 100 times of their original value (Pliny, *Naturalis Historia,* 12.14, 28; 6.101) but his record expresses a moral tendency and is little help for the discovery of the cost prices of the goods in the merchant ship. As the common view[18] assumes that the goods in *Hermapollon* were mainly pepper produced in the area around Muziris, Braudel's calculation of the profit rate of pepper in the late Medieval period may have certain reference. He estimates that 1 kg pepper (because of different species and quality) valued about 1-2 g of silver in India, when shipped to Alexandria, was worth about 10-14 g of silver; to Venice, about 14-18 g; to the area on North Sea, about 20-30 g (Braudel, *Wheel* 405). In other words, when the pepper from Muziris was shipped to Alexandria, it could be sold 5-14 times of its original value. To make it simpler, the average profit rate is set here as 9. If it was so, the merchant had to pay about 1 million dr. for the cargoes (mainly pepper) in Muziris.

Operation of Eastern Maritime Trade

Besides the routes, the kinds of goods, the financing of the maritime trade, the scale and level, and the economic status of the participants are the issues we should deal with further. What the Muziris Papyrus records is of some significance for us to make clear in this regard.

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[16] Casson thinks this was textile given no definite amount, but his explanation seems vague. See Casson, "New Light" 201. I prefer Rathbone's interpretation at Rathbone, "The Muziris Papyrus," 44.

[17] On the paper copied for me Rathbone's newly calculation is 85 t. 5157.5 dr.

[18] See De Romanis, "Comparative Perspectives" 135-139; Morelli, "Dal Mar Rosso" 199-234

Items of Goods

The goods of maritime trade between India and Egypt attracted much attention from the very early time on. Most of the scholars insisted that because the eastern goods were mainly luxuries to satisfy the conspicuous consumption of the elites, the consumers were strictly confined as elites and, hence, limited. Thus, they supposed that the eastern trade was of little importance for the economy of the Roman Empire. It is hard for most of the researchers of ancient Greco-Roman economic history to imagine that the scale of luxurious goods would surpass that of the trade of essential items such as corn, oil and wine, which were the staples in the Mediterranean trade. "To emphasize the trade in these commodities (eastern goods), at the expense of staples, is to give ancient trade a modern aspect" (Parker, *Making* 185).

The items which can be found on the verso include ivory, Gangetic nard and the unknown σχίδαι. Lionel Casson attempted to prove the other three items in the final column are valuable textiles from India and China (201). De Romanis and Morelli inferred the three should be pepper, turtle and cinnamon according to the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* and products cultivated in the area of Muziris.[19] However, given the different calculations of the price of pepper (Morelli 24 dr. per mina, de Romanis 4 dr. per mina), there is vast divergence about the weight of the pepper. Morelli thinks the volume of pepper in the ship was less than 140 tons, while de Romanis calculates 544 tons.

Some literary and archaeological materials make it possible for us to know more about the eastern items during the period of high Roman Empire. In the last quarter of the second century CE, the Roman jurist Aelius Marcianus compiled a legal document containing 54 'articles subject to duty' upon their entry into Alexandria:

> Cinnamon, long pepper, white pepper, folium pentasphaerum, barbary leaf, putchuk, spikenard, Turian cassia, cassia bark, myrrh, amomum, ginger, cinnamon, cinnamon leaf, aroma Indicum, galbanum, asafetida, aloe-wood, barberry, astragalus, Arabian onyx, cardamom, cinnamon bark, fine linen, Babylonian furs, Parthian furs, ivory, Indian iron, raw cotton, lapis universus, pearls, sardonyx, bloodstones, hyacinthus, emeralds, diamonds, lapis lazuli, turquoise, beryls, tortoise-stone, Indian or Assyrian drugs, raw silk, garments made completely or partly from silk, painted hangings, fine linen fabrics, silk yarn, Indian eunuchs, lions and lionesses, leopards, panthers, purple cloth, cloth woven from sheep's wool, orchil, Indian hair. (Justinian, *Digesta,* 39. 4. 16. 7)

[19] See De Romanis, "Comparative" 135-139; Morelli, "Dal Mar Rosso" 199-234.

The passage was included in Emperor Justinian's *Digest* issued in 533 CE, thus this important document about ancient maritime trade between the East and the West was preserved up to now. Though some of the items in the so-called '*Directory of Alexandrian Tariff*' were from the Eastern Mediterranean, the Nile valley and Arabian Peninsula, most of them came from Asia, including spices, gems, textile, servants from India and raw silk, silk manufactures and silk yarn from China. Other literary and archaeological materials indicate that the goods from Egypt to India were mainly gold or silver coins, wines, glass, animal, slaves and handworks.[20]

When talking about the trade items in classical times, scholars are always ready to divide them into luxuries and daily necessities, and they try to judge the nature of classical economy based on this division. Recently, L. Foxhall seeks to amend this dichotomy. She proposes that besides the dichotomous labels between luxuries and necessities, many items are semi-luxurious and are helpful for the improvement of living standards (240). Obviously, rice and rough cotton in the '*Directory of Alexandrian Tariff'* and *The Periplus Maris Erythraei* were imported mainly as daily necessities; net, broomcorn, Job's tears, bamboos, teaks, beads and other oriental trinkets unearthed from Berenice are things of little value, and they should be necessities. Spices, oversea manual products and gems could be used by some as semi-luxuries to improve the living quality and for others as ordinary things; frankincense and other agricultural products were necessary religious and pharmaceutical substances.[21] They could be never equal to luxurious items corrupting the citizens but were necessities for everyday life. For example, the price of black pepper was as high as 4 dinarii per pound in Rome, but for the populace it was never beyond reach, because they would not always buy it in pounds but in grams. *Tabulae Vindolandenses* shows that even in the remote frontier the lowest in social scale could buy some pepper for daily use (Bowman and Thomas, *Vindolanda* 135-141).

To sum up, the records indicated in the *Muziris Papyrus* and the literary and archaeological material show that luxurious goods were not exclusively all the things transported from the East. Everyday necessities, religious or pharmaceutical items, and semi-luxuries for the sake of improving the living standard occupied a higher proportion. The consumers of the cheaper goods were more, and the amount of their sale was higher than luxuries. The above discussion indicates that the view that eastern items are luxuries and that the trade is of no significance might not be correct.

[20] See Sidebotham, *Red Land* 179-180. For a more detail description of imports and exports, see Cobb, *Rome* 180-271.
[21] See Sidebotham, *Berenike* 249-251 and Young, *Rome* 13-16.

The Financing of the Maritime Trade

Generally speaking, just like other periods of time from the fifth century BCE to the eighteenth century CE, in the eastern Mediterranean, the traders in the Roman Empire used maritime loans to finance the trade between India and Egypt. The reason is that the traders were often not only lacking ready cash and looking for ways to reduce risks, but also were in search of the scale effect to make more profit (Chen Siwei, "Some Problems" 47). Just like the Gangetic nard and ivory recorded in the Muziris Papyrus, the traders provided the goods they bought or their ships as the pledges for the loans. As a generally accepted rule, if the subject materials of the loan were lost during the course of the shipping because of unwarranted reasons, the debtor might be exempted of the obligation to repay the loan, and all the losses were assumed by the creditor. The rate of the loan, though not explicitly written down in the Papyrus, must be quite high as the creditor made every possible effort to monitor it. We may conclude that the maritime loan in the Muziris Papyrus was ordinary in classical Eastern Mediterranean world. However, compared with the maritime trade and maritime loans in Athens in the fourth century BCE, the one recorded in the Papyrus had some different characteristics: both the creditors and the debtors applied more specific measures to mitigate risks and to pursue the maximum profit.

Firstly, the capital of the creditor was more abundant, and the management was more rational. In maritime loans in fourth-century Athens, there were always more than two creditors, and sometimes they invested with the help of the banks as their agents.[22] This investment model implied that the capital of every single creditor in the fourth century BCE might be smaller and that the creditor was more apt to investment with less concern. As far as the maritime loan in Muziris Papyrus is concerned, the financier was extremely wealthy, which will be discussed in the following section. He could not only contribute the loans for a long period of time, but had ἐπιτροπαῖ or φροντισταῖ[23] who watched and supervised every loan for him (recto ll. 1, 5, 15, 24). Inferred from the Papyrus, it is clear that the financier had agents in Alexandria, Koptos, Muziris and the Red Sea port. Furthermore, he had his own camel caravans used to carry goods from the Red Sea port to Koptos (recto ll. 2-4), by which he might keep the pledge across the desert safely against fraud of the debtor during the travel. From all these we may safely infer that the participants were unlikely citizens from the lower classes or aliens whom scholars such as M. I. Finley stressed; the following analysis indicates that they were probably the wealthiest inhabitants on the top of the social pyramid.

Secondly, the interests of the debtor were carefully protected. Just as for the loan contracts in other ancient societies, the maritime loan contracts in Athens in the

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[22] Chen Siwei, "Private Banks in Athens and the Financing of the Maritime Trade in Classical Antiquity", *World History*, 2015 (4), pp. 114-125.

[23] About the two terms, see *A Greek-English Lexicon*, pp. 641, 1957. Rathbone thinks they were often used of managers on large private estates ("Muziris" 42).

fourth century BCE showed more concern for the creditor's interests in every respect. For example, if there was a violation of what the contract regulated, the debtor would not only be divested of the right of the goods, but other property of his might be taken away by the creditor; moreover, if the merchant could not sail to the stated port within the agreed time, the financer might raise the interest rate (Demosthenes 10-13). Quite different from other agreements, the one kept in the Muziris Papyrus talked much about the debtor's interest. On the one hand, though registering the goods in the financier's name (recto ll. 10-14) prevented the debtor from stealing them, this also meant that the creditor could not take the goods away and had to be liable for the unpaid quarter-tax. In other words, the debtor acquired some economic profits. On the other hand, if the debtor failed to repay the loan on time, the procedure of seizure could protect both sides. If the cargoes were of little value, the financier could deduct the interest due first (recto ll. 22-23), then demand the debtor of all the arrearage, because suing for unpaid interest was harder. However, if it was of higher value, the financier could "buy them for himself at the price current at the time" (recto ll.21-22), and then had to hand over the surplus to the merchant after deduction of the interest and the capital (recto ll. 25-26). There is no doubt that the resale of the goods could profit the creditor a lot, but from the debtor's point of view, as long as he could ship enough cargoes safely to Alexandria, he would surely make a considerable profit without the worry of the sale and the market. For this reason, Rathbone assumes that in consideration of the profit, the turnover of capital, the high value of cargoes and the marketing difficulties, most of the merchants would sell most or all of the shipment to the financier at a mutually agreed price as soon as they arrived (42). This might be the normal practice!

Thirdly, although the terms of the contract were almost the same as those of classical Athens, the actual operation varied greatly. In a maritime loan in fourth-century BCE Athens, if a merchant had the plan for oversea trade, he had to seek the capital himself in most cases.[24] But in Egypt in the second century CE, it was the creditor with the willingness of investment who employed the merchant as his debtor. As for the above mentioned Muziris Papyrus, the creditor had to invest parts of the capital needed for the trade; furthermore, he might arrange the route, send his ἐπιτροπαῖ or φροντισταῖ to watch (recto ll. 1, 5, 15, 24) and help to avoid or lower the possible risks. There was no doubt that the creditor had more than enough money to handle the maritime trade, but he lent it to a merchant. The reason for what he did was economic rationality. On the one hand, during the high sea voyage, the merchant might encounter storms, pirates, even death; moreover, even as a debtor, he had to provide half of the money. In other words, the merchant assumed parts of the risks and capital. On the other hand, if the money was entrusted to professional merchants, the creditor could guarantee the expertise needed for the purchasing of the goods and during the course of shipping and transport. With more effective management conducted by the professional merchant, his profit was greater. If operated by the creditor or his agents, the

[24] For a most detailed loan, refer to Demosthenes, *Against Lacritus*, 1-2.

maritime trade would be of lower efficiency. Compared with the creditor's servants, the professional merchants were more familiar with the rules of maritime trade; they knew well the Indian markets and where to get the items the "Romans" favored; and they could make contact with the Indians with high proficiency.[25] Most important of all, driven by the risks and profits of the loans, the merchants would have devoted all their time and energy to the maritime trade. We cannot imagine that the ἐπιτροπαῖ or φροντισταῖ affiliated with the creditor had the same expertise and zeal as the professional merchants did.

An overall consideration of the terms in the Muziris Papyrus demonstrate that the maritime trade financing in the high Roman Empire was much developed. The creditor would send his servants for help and supervision; he would pay the tolls that should have been assumed by the traders; he would even promise to buy all or part of the goods if the trader could not sell them. The reason why the creditors voluntarily found professional traders and lent them money was to seek for lower risks and higher profits. An economic rationality advocated by classical economics was expressed somewhat fully in the course of the maritime trade and financing mentioned above.

Economic Status of the Participants

The prevalent view insists that most of the practitioners of ancient trade were at the bottom of society. For example, A. H. M. Jones thinks that the merchants were "precarious poor men who at the most owned a ship and all the capital needed depended on maritime loans" (Jones 138, note 46). Based on Roman social stratification, M. I. Finley further analyzes the underlying causes why the well-off kept themselves away from maritime trade and maritime loans. As far as Finley is concerned, the occupation of the people invariably matched with their social standing (especially citizenship); agriculture, political life and war were proper occupations of a citizen in the ancient world; trade was much looked down upon and did not match well with one's position in society. Generally speaking, citizens would seldom engage in businesses such as lending, leasing, or trading to exploit the other citizens. According to Finley, "Not a single prominent equestrian can be identified who was primarily a merchant or any equites who were themselves active in the grain trade or engaged personally in sea-borne commerce – let alone senators" (58). He further states "The evidence shows with sufficient certainty that a very large part of that activity was in the hands either of men of low status or of men like the wealthy metics of Athens" (60).

However, to a great extent, what is recorded in the Muziris Papyrus and the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* provides a different picture and might be useful to reappraise the comments of Finley and Jones.[26] In the early Roman Empire, 1154

[25] Some merchants and their servants lived quite long time in the merchant diasporas around the Indian Ocean. See Cobb 155-170.

[26] At one time, the advantage of papyri in the research of ancient history was neglected by some scholars. They thought that Egypt was a distinctive world and its economy was beyond their realm. For example, see M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy* 28. Recently, this viewpoint has been sharply criticized. See Bagnall 13-14; Rathbone, "Ancient Economy" 157-158.

t. 2852 dr. was approximately 7 million sesterces (before taxes more than 9 million).[27] What did 9 million or 7 million sesterces mean? Nowadays, the wage or the amount of corn to buy are used to evaluate the purchasing power of ancient coins.[28] In the High Roman Empire, the stonecutters working in the quarry in Mons Claudianus in the eastern desert could get 47 dr. every month; in the second half of the second century CE, a solider in Roman Egypt could earn about 100 dr. monthly (Sidelbotham et al. 201, 188). If so, the value of the cargo in the Muziris Papyrus equated 40 thousand years of working without rest of a skilled stonecutter or one month pay of 70 thousand soldiers! At that time, the average price of wheat in Egypt was 9 dr. every artaba (Rathbone "Earnings" 304); then the goods were equal to 769,650 artabae wheat, or about 23,200 tons.[29] According to wheat yield in Egypt at that time, more than 200 km^2 fertile farmlands, which occupied 1% of Egyptian arable land, would have been needed (Rathbone, "Roman Egypt" 711). Figures cannot reveal everything, but the fact is more than clear, that the investors and merchants practicing the Egypt-India maritime trade were unlikely to be "precarious poor men" at the bottom of the society.

However, the fact often ignored is that 7 million was not the purchase price in India but the sale price in Alexandria. If Braudel's estimation is used here, the merchants, according to the rules of maritime loans, might have to pay at least half of the money (that is 1 million sesterces) when they bought these goods. If this is the case, due to the singular form used in the Muziris Papyrus to refer the debtor and creditor, the economic status of the investors and merchants can be demonstrated more objectively.

Colin Adams implies that the annual living cost of an Egyptian farmer was about 150 dr. in the second century CE (187); Raymond Goldsmith's research shows that in the early Empire, property per capita was about 400 sesterces. At that time, the gap between the rich and the poor was great: 600 senatorial families, with average property of 2,500,000 sesterces, had 0.004% of the national population, but aggregated 0.6% of the total fortune; equites, average property 500,000 sesterces, had 0.3% of the population, but occupied 6% of the wealth; the 3% richest inhabitants, average property 12,000 sesterces, possessed 20-25% of the national wealth (274, 277-278).

As a reference, if the investor recorded in the Muziris Papyrus was indeed a Roman citizen living in Egypt, as some scholars assume;[30] he must have been rich

[27] More exactly it was 692,6852 sesterces; Rathbone, "Muziris" 48.

[28] For example, Scheidel, "Real Wages" 437-442; Rathbone, "Earnings" 307-317.

[29] One artaba was roughly 1.3 mdeimnos. See *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p.248.

[30] The merchants participating the eastern trade, besides Italians, included Graeco-Egyptians, Jewish Egyptians, and people from the Eastern Mediterranean and Levant. Some scholars insist that Italian merchants and financiers (including the families Caii Norbani, Peticii, Auli Gabinii, Calpurnii, Anni, and Vestorii) played a prominent role in the conduct and expansion of Roman trade in the Indian Ocean. See Schörle 49. For more detailed information about the families engaged in trade in the Indian Ocean, see Cobb 73-77. Furthermore, after Augustus, especially during the reign of Claudius (Suetonius, *Divus Claudius*, 19, 25.3, 42), citizenship was granted widely in the east part of the Empire. Epigraphical evidence suggests more and more Greek speaking merchants or agents received

enough to be bracketed with other rich equites. It must not be ignored that according to the conventions of maritime loans in the ancient Mediterranean, the investor could only offer half the money needed at the most, and the rest should be raised by the merchant himself (Demosthenes, *Against Phormio,* 6-7, 40; 35. 18). If the norm was still effective when the debtor in the Muziris Papyrus got the loan, he should have had at least the same amount of money which he borrowed. Moreover, he had to pay the freight and the salary of the sailors, which was about 1% of the value of the cargo(Sidelbotham et al.187). Only the freight and the salary were nearly 10,000 sesterces, which was approximately what 3% of the richest citizens might possess. In other words, the merchant occupied in the maritime trade was probably not a "precarious poor" man but an eminent figure with a solid economic foundation. Even the ship owner who freighted the cargo was never a "precarious poor" man. Lionel Casson's research shows the capacity of the ships between Egypt and India was generally no less than 500 tons (*Ships* 183-190). If such was the case, the merchant ship *Hermapollon* with a full load could carry goods for 150 merchants; if other merchants paid 1% of the value for the freight and the salary of the sailors as Sidebotham insists, only with this single voyage, the income of the ship owner could amount to over 10,000,000 sesterces; the ship owner and his sailors could acquire a handsomely large amount of money after the voyage.[31] Accordingly, Sidebotham insists that the ship owner and the sailors got the lion part of the profit because they assumed most of the risks (Sidebotham, *Berenike* 249).

It should be pointed out that, besides the maritime trade to India, the Alexandrian merchants had contacts with Adulis and Ptolemais Theron on Red Sea, Zaila, Berbera, Heis, Ras Hafun, Rhpta in Eastern Africa and the ports on Persian Gulf. These areas were important supplying places for myrrh, incense and pearls. But quite different from the maritime trade to and from India, the above trades were mainly coastal sailing without many stormy waves, and the merchants could have the chances to purchase and sell the goods during the travelling. Thus, the merchants sailing on the Red Sea, eastern Africa and Arabian Peninsula might own or loan much less money. Because their ships were smaller and their cargoes were less in value, the merchants and their sailors might earn less (Casson, "Rome's Trade"35.

It is generally believed, however, that the majority of the rich in the ancient world were "were quite ready to give up the efforts to make money", and they "resemble more closely the class of people called rentiers, content to draw an income from their assets, with the proviso that these were such as to guarantee (or at least not compromise) social respectability, while maintaining an appropriate lifestyle" (Millett 171). But the above analysis indicates that the practitioners during the High Roman Empire never kept themselves away from maritime trade and

Roman citizenship. See Cobb 71-73.

[31] In a Roman merchant ship, the personal allocation included a magister navis,, a gubernator, a proreus, a toicharchos, a perineos, some assistants besides the nauchlerus. There were some aurigae, faber, nauphylakes, boatmen on board of a large seagoing vessel. See Casson, *Ships* 314-320.

maritime loans just because these were degrading occupations. On the contrary, maritime trade and maritime loans were probably short-cuts to accumulate wealth.[32] During the course of maritime ventures, the rich seemed never to be "quite ready to give up the effort to make money as soon as they could afford a comfortable rentier existence" (Humphreys 153). The purpose of the people who invested or carried out the maritime trade was nothing more than the increase of their wealth by which they could maintain a luxurious life consistent with their social status.

Eastern Maritime Trade and High Roman Empire Economy

Ever since Warmington's *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, the debate on the position of the Eastern trade in the ancient economy has lasted about 100 years. The orthodoxy following A. M. H. Jones and M. I. Finley insisted that "the ancient economy was primarily agricultural", "trade and manufacture played a very minor part in the economy of the Roman Empire" (Hopkins xi-xii). For them, the first reason is the similarity of the climate and the products in different regions on the Mediterranean basin; the second is the poverty of the city inhabitants and peasants. P. Cartledge even assumes that in the ancient economy more than 98% of the industry was agriculture to sustain self-sufficiency, and non-agriculture work including trade and manufacture was less than 2% (Cartledge 6). But the above discussion on the Muziris Papyrus presents a different picture.

Scale and Percentage

We have to admit that the cargo recorded in the Muziris Papyrus is a great part of the little evidence we have about the maritime trade in the Early Roman Empire, and it does not exclude the possibility that it was an unusual case. Sidebotham (*Roman Economic* 46) warned us not to expect too much to estimate the reasonable scale of the oriental trade, and his warning is still worthy of our attention. But facing such detailed empirical material, historians will continue to flutter fatally around these figures, like moths drawn to a candle, to reach an educated guess (Rathbone, "Muziris" 46). However, if the ship *Hermapollon* was not a particular but a typical case,[33] we can judge the scale of the maritime trade, and have a glimpse of the status of the eastern trade in the Roman social economic structure.

As to the scale of the trade, two data references given by Pliny the Elder[34] are much quoted:

> And it will not be amiss to set out the whole of the voyage from Egypt,

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[32] The Italian Peticius family and the Annii family of Puteoli took part in the eastern trade directly. See Tomber, 152. For more evidence, see J.H.D'Arms, late Republic 39-47; early Empire 152-153. See also Pleket 130-144, esp. 137.

[33] As is discussed on p.3 of this article.

[34] Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 6.101; 12.84. This is the Loeb version of H. Rackham's translation.

> now that reliable knowledge of it is for the first time accessible. It is an important subject, in view of the fact that in no year does India absorb less than fifty million sesterces of our empire's wealth, sending back merchandise to be sold with us at a hundred times its prime cost.
>
> But the title 'happy' belongs still more to the Arabian Sea, for from it come the pearls which that country sends us. And by the lowest reckoning India, China and the Arabian peninsula take from our empire 100 million sesterces every year – that is the sum which our luxuries and our women cost us; for what fraction of these imports, I ask you, now goes to the gods or to the powers of the lower world?

But many scholars suspect this data, and criticize it as the result of Pliny's exaggeration for the purpose of moral admonition. M. I. Finley pointed out, "The famous passages in the elder Pliny, giving dubious figures of the drain of Roman gold and silver to India and other eastern countries in payment for luxuries, are moral in their implication" (Finley 132).[35]

Nevertheless, it is unfair to regard Pliny's data just as useless. At least, he definitely emphasized the quoted data was not his subjective fabrication but "reliable knowledge." On the one hand, although not so many Roman silver or gold coins have been found in subcontinental archaeology, we cannot deny the fact that Roman coins flowed to India in large quantity. The archaeological materials from the twentieth century demonstrate that considerable Roman coins of different ages were buried under the earth of India, especially in south part of the subcontinent.[36] On the other hand, as some scholars stress, Roman coins might be melted down and re-minted as Kushan coins in the more economically developed northern area (Liu 146; Parker 185). Surely there are still more coins buried there waiting to be discovered. From the aspect of literary documents, Roman coins were beyond doubt one of the most important items for Egyptian merchants to exchange with for those from the subcontinent. The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* reports that at Barygaza in Gujarat, "Roman money, gold and silver, commands an exchange at some profit against the local currency" (49); at Bakare in the south there was a distribution center for pepper and cinnamon, but even there "they offer a market for mainly a great amount of money" (56). What we cannot neglect is that all kinds of glassware, wine, garum, oil, pottery and metal vessels produced in the Mediterranean basin have been discovered in the subcontinent; besides the above extant materials, the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* states that there was great need for Roman clothing, colorful textiles, chemical substances such as realgar, coral, and corn; Roman merchants brought frankincense, ivory, and wine to be bartered in India; moreover, many Indian potteries have been discovered at the Red Sea ports, which indicates that the participating merchants might barter their cargoes without using money as the

[35] Cf. Sidebotham, *Roman Economic* 36-39.

[36] Turner, in *Roman Coins from India*, found more than 6000 Roman silver coins and 300 gold coins from the first to the third century at about 75 archaeological sites. In recent years, the number increases greatly. See Tomber 31.

intermediate.[37] So the volume of coins discovered cannot reveal entirely the scale of the maritime trade. In short, all the evidence implies that the scale of maritime trade between Roman Egypt and the subcontinent might have been much greater than what some scholars thought.

What the Muziris Papyrus records can also be of some help for us to deduce the scale of the maritime trade between India and Egypt in the High Roman Empire. Strabo tells us that by the beginning of the Christian era, ships departing from Myos Hormos on the Red Sea to India rose to as many as 120 annually (Strabo 2.5.12; 17.1.13).[38] By the end of the second century CE, besides Myos Hormos and Berenice, Nechesia, Clysma, Cleopatis and other ports played a certain role in the maritime trade between Egypt and India.[39] Even calculating the number most conservatively,[40] we may conclude that the merchant ships that sailed back safely would never be less than 100 annually; and if we accept De Romanis computation, we can assume that the average cargo was over 500 tons, and the value of every cargo was about 9 million sesterces as recorded in Muziris Papyrus (134-139), the annual total value of eastern goods would reach no less than 1 billion in Rome if Braudel's conclusion has some reference value (405). In short, the elder Pliny's estimate of 50 million sesterces is much less, and even his estimate of 100 million of all the cargoes from China, India and Arabia is far from enough.

Undoubtedly, without considering moral admonition and just investigating from the aspect of quantity, we can find the data given by Pliny the Elder should be liable to raise some suspicions. Firstly, he does not explain the source of the data, which he might have borrowed from his predecessors, or even from gossip or rumors. Secondly, as is stated above, some of the eastern goods sold in Rome were carried by way of the Persian Gulf, Palmyra, and the Levant. The value of these goods, according to Rathbone, might be equal to those brought via the Red Sea (Muziris 47). Thirdly, there were other consumer-metropoleis such as Alexandria, Antioch, and Carthage in the Empire besides the city of Rome, each of which had its own great demands for eastern goods. And last but not least, Pliny does not make clear whether 50 million was the cost the merchants paid in India or the sale price in Rome. Furthermore, in his narration, Pliny uses such words as *exhaurient* and *adimõ*,[41] and he stresses the merchants "sending back merchandise to be sold with us at a hundred time its prime cost." From this it could be concluded that 50

[37] For archaeological materials see Begley and Puma V. Begley and R. Puma 46-81; 134-150; 157-196; bronze vessels 82-112; glassware 113-124; wine 151-156; 204-215。For other items, see *Periplus*. 27, 39, 49, 56-57; for barter exchanges, see Casson, *Periplus* 29-31.

[38] Another datum given by the same Strabo should be considered here. He said that "a tribute of 2500 t. was paid annually to Auletes, the father of Cleopatra." "If, then, the man who administered the kingdom in the worst and most careless way obtained so large a revenue, what should one think of the present revenues, which are managed with so diligence, and when the commerce with the Indians and the Troglodytes has been increased to so great an extent?"

[39] See Sidebotham, "*Roman Economic"* map. 1; *Red Land* 157-168.

[40] Archaeological research indicates that the golden age of the maritime trade between Egypt and India was Strabo's age but from the middle of the first century to the beginning of second century. See Sidebotham, *Red Land* 179.

[41] About these two words, see *Oxford Latin Dictionary* 641, 43.

million may not be the sale price in Rome but the money paid in India, or his emphasis on the profit would be meaningless. This conclusion may be extended to the 100 million absorbed by India, China and Arabia. If that is the case, according to Braudel's rate of profit, in the middle of the 1st century CE, the Roman Empire had to pay more than 900 million sesterces for the eastern goods, half of which would be shipped from the Indian subcontinent. Considering all the above, I assume that the data given by Pliny might be his rough estimate to the eastern goods consumed in the city of Rome in the middle of the 1st century CE. By the middle of the 2nd century CE, when the Muziris Papyrus was written, the Empire was ruled by the prosperous Antonine Dynasty. At that time, because of the social stability and the affluent life, the Romans had still greater demands for goods from the East.[42] Thus, there was a deep gap between the value of eastern goods consumed by the Roman Empire in the mid-2nd century and 100 million sesterces given by Pliny in the mid-1st century. If what the ship *Hermapollon* carried was typical in the mid-2nd century maritime trade between Egypt and the East, it may safely be concluded that Eastern trade via the Red Sea, which took a proportion of more than 5% of its GDP,[43] carried weight in the Roman social economy.

Was it necessary for Rome to import such great an amount? For people in our modern society, they might think that the Romans living about 2000 years ago could hardly consume eastern goods worth hundreds, or even thousands, of sesterces. However, if we think more over the reality of Roman society at that time, we may give a different response. Firstly, from the Late Republic, the city of Rome had been the greatest consumer city in the Mediterranean Basin. With the expansion of the Empire, most of the treasures and wealth was concentrated in the city, and most of the richest and most eminent ruling class lived in the city. By the beginning of the Christian era, the population of the city was over 800,000 (Scheidel, "Creating" 6). Its consumption surpassed that of any other city in the Mediterranean Basin. With *Pax Augusta* and the augmentation of wealth, luxurious items such as diamonds, gems, turtles, corals, perfume, balsam, and expensive fine textiles were not the privilege of the rich anymore; these items could be bought more often by Romans with moderate means or occasionally by the people living in countryside (Young 200-201). Moreover, with the increase of population and the frequent religious activities, the demands for such items as frankincense, myrrh, pepper, cinnamon, cassia, and nard, which used to be thought as luxuries by scholars, increased greatly (Young 14-16). Secondly, during the age of the Empire, the emperors and the elites enlarged the scale and the cost of games and feasts to cater to the plebeians. To propagate their might and prestige, the elites frequently devoted themselves to the promotion of their personal reputation. In the eyes of Romans, "all such favors (bread and circus) are duties required of friends, the benefits that are owed to the poor, and the obligations expected of candidates" (Cicero 73). Many ordinary or exotic beasts were

[42] See Edwards, *Politics* 186-187 and Sidebotham, *Roman Economic* 39-40.

[43] Goldsmith thinks that, in the early Roman Empire, its GDP was about 20 billion sesterces (263). If the trade via Persian Gulf was taken into consideration, the value of the eastern trade was more than 10% of the Roman GDP.

imported for the gladiatorial shows. As a result, lions, leopards, and panthers were listed in the *Directory of Alexandrian Tariff*. Similarly, a great amount of food and spices were needed for the lavish feasts. Thirdly, the ambiance of waste and extravagance was more and more fervent, though sumptuary laws were issued several times. Seneca the Junior said in aphoristic fashion that “people eat to vomit and vomit to eat. Their dishes are brought from every corner of the earth, but they do not even bother to digest them” (Seneca 10.3)” To show their wealth, some people would spend the price of three cooks on an individual fish (Pliny 9.67); and a mullet cost 6,000 sesterces (Juvenal 4); Caesonia, the wife of Emperor Caligula, owned a garment with jewelry valued 40 million sesterces! (Sidebotham, *Red Land* 178). Under this social background, annually, billions of sesterces of the eastern goods, half of which came via the Red Sea and Alexandria, could of course find a vast market in the cities of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch and Carthage.

Contribution to Public Finance

Pliny the Elder declares that the eastern trade not only corrupted the morality of the Romans, but corroded the economy of the Empire. In Pliny’s view, with more than 100 million sesterces of silver flowing out to the eastern countries, the Roman financial deficit became troubling. Obviously, Pliny paid little attention to the fact that products from the Mediterranean Basin, such as wine, olive oil, slaves, glass and bronze vessels, were shipped to the Indian subcontinent together with gold and silver coins, which may have kept the imports and exports in balance to some extent. Still more important, he rarely pays any attention to the fact that the taxes levied on the eastern items could increase the fiscal revenue greatly.

The recto and verso of the Muziris Papyrus stresses more than once (recto lines 8 and 16, verso lines 3, 5, 10, 12, 17, 20) that when a merchant ship arrived in Alexandria, several kinds of taxes should be paid, the most important of which was the quarter custom due. Thus, the merchant ship *Hermapollon* should pay 2.3 million sesterces. If we use the information given by Strabo and assume 100 ships like the *Hermapollon* arrived annually, the Roman government might earn 230 million from the merchandise shipped to Red Sea ports, which was one-third of Roman military expense every year according to Ducan-Jones.[44] It should not be forgotten that this was only the taxes imposed on the goods imported from India. Moreover, the Roman merchants would export coins, wine, and fish products to Arabia, eastern Africa, the Indian subcontinent and the area on the Persian Gulf. As a rule, all these goods would be taxed at 25% of their value when leaving the Red Sea ports. This one-quarter tax was not just imposed to the merchant ships at the Red Sea ports. The evidences from Strabo and the inscriptions from Palmyra and *Periplus* show that before the 3rd century CE, all the goods entering or leaving the Empire, at least the eastern frontier, must pay this kind of tax.[45] Besides the

[44] Annual military expenditure of the 2nd century Roman Empire was 643-704 million. See Duncan-Jones 36.
[45] See Strabo 17. 1.13; *Periplus*, 19. Also see Duncan-Jones, “Roman” 4; De Romanis, “Commercioy” 14-15.

one-quarter tax, the Muziris Papyrus (recto line 3, verso lines 12, 22) tells that the goods imported would be imposed a tax of import (τέλη εισαγωγικά, the rate is unknown) and a tax of road toll (πλείω υπέρ της τεταρτολογίας, the rate is 2.5-2.6%).[46] As all the taxes were levied in kind, warehouses (παραλημπτική αποθήκη, recto lines 4, 8) were built in Koptos and Alexandria. Because of all these taxes, the Roman government inevitably became the greatest owners of the eastern goods in the Mediterranean world. Some of the eastern goods would satisfy the needs of the government, but most of them would be sold to the individual merchants. Thus, it can be found in Pliny that "every sextarirus bought at a sale for 300 denarii when it is sold again makes 1000 denarii" (12.123).

The above calculations indicate that the public finance of the Roman Empire profited much from the eastern maritime trade. Because of the great profit, the Empire started a war against Arabia, Kush and Adulis, sent a navy to the Farasan Islands near Bab el-Mandeb, dredged the canal between the Nile and the Red Sea, built the highway (*Via Hadriana*) to link all the ports on the Red Sea in Egypt, and constructed, maintained and manned the forts in the Eastern Desert.[47] To protect or boost the eastern trade might not have been the prime or sole aim, but the fact of being 10% of the GDP and one of the most significant sources of the imperial finance urged the Empire to increase further endeavors to boost the eastern maritime trade.

Conclusion

It cannot be denied that scholars of the ancient economy should not repudiate the important role agriculture played. Even so, were the maritime trade and merchants not worth mentioning just as Finley emphasized? Or did the eastern trade concentrate only on luxurious items? Or was the scale of the maritime trade so limited? Or was it only marginal in the Empire economy? In recent years, the primitive model to weaken the non-agricultural economy proposed by Finley and his advocates is questioned by more and more scholars.[48] The above discussion based on Muzirus Papyrus can amend some extreme points of view on the purchasing power, the trade scale, and the status of merchants in high Empire economy.

First, the Roman inhabitants had a strong purchasing power for the eastern goods. The above discussion shows that the eastern merchandise was not always luxuries. Semi-luxuries for daily life or for improving life quality were important. Even those goods used to be frequently called luxuries might have a broader market, partly due to their religious or medical functions and partly due to the political

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[46] More detailed discussion see De Romanis, "Commercio" 23-27.

[47] For more discussion about government intervention to the eastern trade, see Cobb, 92-126.

[48] Some scholars try to analyze the economy of Roman Empire using the theory of classical economy from the aspects of price, markets, growth, and GDP. For example, Peter Temin, in *The Roman Market Economy*, attempts to demonstrate its scale, diversity and complexity. More scholars, using the theory of New Institutional Economy, analyze such things as law and transaction costs. For example, Dennis Kehoe et al., *Law* and Harris, *Imperial.*

or daily needs and the prevailing extravagant social mood. It may be safely advocated that the purchasing power of the Romans for eastern merchandise in the high Empire reached as much as 2 billion sesterces, which went beyond what Finley imagined.

Second, the scale and the contribution of the eastern maritime trade were much greater than it used to be thought. From the record of the Muziris Papyrus, archaeological materials, the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* and other classical authors, we may deduce that the annual sale price of the merchandise imported from the Egyptian Red Sea ports might surpass 1 billion in the Empire. Other scholars attest that the eastern goods imported via Persian Gulf and the Silk Road would be valued no less than that from the Red Sea. If that is the case, the eastern maritime trade contributed at least 10% of the Roman GDP. Moreover, the custom revenue imposed on the maritime trade was an indispensable source to the imperial public finance. If the wide-spread amphorae for shipping oil and wine, the persistent needs of Athenians and Romans for daily necessities such as corn were taken into account, and if the input and expense of building and repairing of merchant ships were considered, it would not be a far-fetched inference that even though not the foundation of the high Roman Empire economy, the maritime activities and the maritime trade must occupy a decisive position.

Finally, the economic status of the traders and merchants was not always low. As the creditor of the loan in the Muziris Papyrus invested greatly, he must have come from one of the richest families; and the wealth of the debtor could be compared to that of the equites; even the ship-owners and sailors cannot be regarded as poor. For all of them, the maritime trade should not be considered as a humble occupation harmful to people's mental development, and the practitioners were not at the poverty level on the financial scale. The profit-orienting maritime trade guided by the market and operated by the people as the debtor and the creditor as explained in the Muziris Papyrus was an indispensable sector in the Roman economy. Agriculture was surely an important sector, but in some areas, it was less likely to be the sole or even the most important sector for some period of time. The primitive agricultural model should not exclusively be applied in any region at any period of time.

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Francis Xavier and Latin Education in Asia[1]

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Abstract

Francis Xavier was a Jesuit missionary. He left Europe for Asia to propagate Christianity. The extant letters of Xavier describe his missionary work, which was conducted mainly in India, Southeast Asia, and Japan. He often talks about the establishment of schools and Latin education, especially in Goa and Malacca. After visiting these two places, he finally arrives in Japan in 1549. However, in his letters he does not refer to the establishment or possibility of Latin education in Japan. It was not until Alessandro Valignano came to Japan in 1579 that systematic Latin education started.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss why Xavier promoted Latin education in Goa and Malacca, but not in Japan, and why Xavier could not do so in Japan while Valignano actually could. In consideration of these matters, let us introduce the local situations and Latin education in Goa and Malacca, then compare the two cities with Japan. Moreover, we will compare Japanese society in Xavier's time with that of Valignano's.

Keywords: Francis Xavier, Society of Jesus, Latin, Alessandro Valignano, Japan

[1] The paper is a dramatically revised English version of my paper which was written in Japanese. The former Japanese version was published as "フランシスコ・ザビエルが携わったアジアにおける語学教育 [Francisco Xavier and Language Education in Asia]." 観光学研究 [*Journal of Tourism Studies*], vol. 18, 2019, pp. 117-25.

Introduction

Francis Xavier was a Jesuit missionary and he left Europe for Asia to propagate Christianity. The existent letters of Xavier describe his missionary work mainly in India, Southeast Asia, and Japan. He often talks about the establishment of schools and Latin education, especially in Goa and Malacca. Latin was the official language of the Christian church. After visiting both Goa and Malacca, he finally arrived in Japan in 1549. However, he does not refer to the establishment or possibility of Latin education in Japan. It was not until Alessandro Valignano came to Japan in 1579 that systematic Latin education started.

Why did Francis Xavier promote Latin education in Goa and Malacca, but not in Japan? Xavier does not refer to the reasons in his letters, and thus, we have no choice but to speculate about them. Moreover, why could Xavier not conduct Latin education in Japan while Valignano was able to do so? Giving consideration to these matters, let us introduce the local situations and Latin education in Goa and Malacca, then compare the two cities with Japan. We will also compare Japanese society in Xavier's time with that of Valignano's time.

Goa

Goa, in India, had been a colony of Portugal since 1510, though absolute control over the conquered land was not clearly established until 1543 (Matsukawa 229). In the 1540s, the Portuguese colonial government changed its policy, and forced the local people to convert to Christianity following the missionaries' proposals. As a consequence, many Hindu temples were destroyed there (Matsukawa 231).

A large number of Western missionaries went to Goa. The Franciscans were the first to arrive in Goa in 1517, and they were followed by the Dominicans, Augustinians, and then the Jesuits (Matsukawa 229). The Franciscans began missionary education in Goa and had already established eleven friaries, three colleges, and eighty residences by 1542. The College of Reis Magos, on the peninsula of Bardez, just north of Goa, became the center of Franciscan activity in the latter half of the century. Within this territory there lived an estimated seven thousand Christians (Lach 262).

Latin education had already started. The confraternity of the Holy Faith was established under the guidance of Miguel Vaz, the Vicar General of Goa, and Fr. Diogo de Borba, an erudite theologian and cathedral preacher,[2] on 24 April 1541. Its purpose was to propagate the Catholic faith and to educate the young converts. It was also decided to establish a seminary for the indigenous boys, where they would be instructed in reading, writing, Portuguese and Latin grammar, Christian doctrine, and moral theology (Abreu 9; Xavier, P. D. 208; Fernando 2). This was planned as a seminary to train future priests to work in India and elsewhere (Fernando 2).

The seminary of Holy Faith became St. Paul's College under the Jesuits (Xavier, P. D. 209). Before the establishment of the college, Francis Xavier arrived in Goa on 6 May 1542. He reported on the students who had already learned Latin in his letter dated 20 September 1542: "There are already more than sixty native boys who are in the care of a Padre Reverendo. They will live in the college this summer. Among these, many, almost all, can read and recite the Office; and many of them can already write. They are already so advanced that they can be taught Latin" (Schurhammer, II 275; Schurhammer & Wicki, I 135-6; Kono 94-5).

[2] For Miguel Vaz and Diogo de Borba, see Xavier, P. D. 130.

From the beginning of their enterprise, the nerve center of the Jesuit mission was St. Paul's College in Goa (Lach 263). Francis Xavier reported on the foundation of the college in his letter dated 20 September 1542:

> "The Lord Governor is giving all his assistance to bring the college into existence. It seems to His Lordship that the erection of this house, so necessary in these parts, is of such a great service to God that, because of his support, it will be enlarged and in a short time completed. The church which they are building within the college is very beautiful. The foundations have been completed and the walls are already up. They are now putting a roof on it. This summer Mass will be said in it. The church is almost twice as large as the church of the Collège de Sorbonne. The house already has revenues with which more than a hundred students can be maintained. Each day it becomes better endowed since it appears to all to be an excellent work" (Schurhammer, II 274; Schurhammer & Wicki, I 132; Kono 91).

In 1543 the building was completed and became St. Paul's College under the Jesuits (Abreu 10). In the same year, the Jesuits started teaching, and in 1545 they took on full responsibility for the college. An elementary school was also established near the college where students learned reading, writing, mathematics, and Christian doctrine (Fernando 2). The college had more than fifty rooms and two college dormitories; one was meant for about 30 Portuguese boys and the other for about 70 Indian boys. In 1545 the number of students increased to 60 and their age ranged from 7 to 21; in 1552 there were about 300 students, 450 in 1556, and 700 in 1564 (Xavier, P. D. 209-10). The student body was a very cosmopolitan one, made up of adolescent youths: Hindu, Sinhalese, Moluccan, Chinese, Japanese, Kaffir, and Ethiopian (Lach 263).

In the college the Jesuits taught everything from elementary Latin to advanced theology (Lach 263). The boys who knew how to read and write were admitted to the gymnasium where humanistic studies were conducted; three classes of grammar, one class of humanities with an emphasis on poetry and the main works of Cicero, Virgil, Ovid and Sedulius, and one class of rhetoric. St. Paul's College was indeed a university; and its curriculum was based on that of Sorbonne University (Xavier, P. D. 211). Francis Xavier reported in his letter dated 15 January 1544:

> "Last year I wrote to you about a college that is being built in the city of Goa. There are already many students in it, who speak different languages and were all born of pagan parents. Among those in the college, where many buildings have already been erected, are many who are learning Latin, and others who are learning how to read and write" (Schurhammer, II 408; Schurhammer & Wicki, I 169; Kono 115).

The teachers at the college were mainly drawn from among the clerics (Xavier, P. D. 212). In 1544 Fr. Paulo Camerto S. J. joined the college and taught Latin grammar to the boys, while in 1545 Fr. Nicolas Lancillotto, a colleague of Francis Xavier, became the rector of the college (Abreu 10; Xavier, P. D. 212). Lancillotto was often referred to as a Latin teacher in Xavier's letters. For example, a letter dated 16 December 1545 said: "And Father Nicolao Lanciloto should remain in the College of St. Paul to teach grammar since he was sent from Portugal for this purpose" (Schurhammer, III 48; Schurhammer & Wicki, I 309; Kono 228).[3] Xavier asked Ignatius of Loyola to send Latin teachers: "I am telling you

[3] For Lancillotto, see also Xavier's letter dated 10 May 1546: "Before I left Malacca, I heard that three of our Society had arrived at Goa, who wrote to me, and had my letters from Rome sent to me with theirs. […] As one of these three (i.e. Lancillotto) had come to be a master of grammar in the College of Santa Fé, and the other two to be employed wherever it seemed to me that they could be of the most use to religion." Cf. Coleridge, I 379; Schurhammer & Wicki, I 327-8; Kono 235.

this so that you send one to dedicate himself here only to the teaching of Latin. He will have an abundance to do. […] The Lord Governor hopes that three clerics and a teacher of Latin will come from Rome" (Schurhammer, II 275; Schurhammer & Wicki, I 136; Kono 95).

Malacca

Before Xavier landed for the first time at Malacca in 1545 (Teixeira 98), the Portuguese *The State of India* had already controlled the port-city of Malacca since its conquest by Afonso de Albuquerque in 1511 (Loureiro 78). Albuquerque had built a church and began working on the growth of Christianity. He favored all those who desired to be baptized and enter the bosom of the Church (Teixeira 85).

Moreover, from the time of the conquest of Malacca, the Crown supported the building of a Christian community for the administrators, soldiers, and merchants stationed there (Lach 286). So, when Xavier came to this city, he found that Christianity was already accepted, and he was very much welcomed by the people who lived there (Teixeira 98). Fr. Paulo Gomes said, "I saw with my own eyes Fr. Xavier landing at Malacca for the first time. The inhabitants ran to the port to receive him. They were all shouting with joy: Holy Father is coming" (Teixeira 326).

During his stay, Xavier initiated the opening of a Christian school. Due to this very early establishment of a school with a modern mindset, the name, *sekolah*, in the Malay language was borrowed from the Portuguese word, *eskola*, which means "school" (Ozay 38). The Jesuits also taught Latin in Malacca. Here is Francis Xavier's letter dated 2 April 1548:

> "I am sending two of my companions there to Mallaca, one of them to preach to the Portuguese and to their wives and slaves, and to teach and instruct each day as I did when I was there; and the other companion, who is not a priest, to teach the children of the Portuguese, how to read and write and how to recite the Hours of Our Lady, the Seven [Penitential] Psalms, and the Office of the Dead for the souls of their parents. […] I am, moreover, ordering the one who is to teach the Portuguese children how to read and write also to teach [Latin] grammar in the course of time to those who are suited for it" (Schurhammer, III 420; Schurhammer & Wicki, I 437; Kono 312).

The second person of the "companions" whom Xavier referred to in the beginning of the letter cited above was Roque de Oliveira. Xavier sent him from Goa to Malacca (Teixeira 355-6). Olivera opened a school for the teaching of Portuguese and Latin by Jesuit missionaries, and within a few days there were 180 pupils. Its original pupils must have been the children of Portuguese, Catholic Eurasians, and Catholic converts (Winstedt 45; Coleridge, II 43).[4] This college was a regional training center for students from the Indonesian islands, Japan, and China (Kalapura 98). Xavier referred to the Latin education done by Oliveira in his letter dated 22 June 1549. Oliveira was active in the school, where he was teaching a large number of boys, some how to read and write, and others Latin, using catechisms and prayer books as their texts (Schurhammer, IV 18; Schurhammer & Wicki, II 132; Kono 440). Additionally, Xavier asked the Fathers in Goa to send a person to Malacca who had the highest educational qualifications to teach boys how to read and write, and who would take the place of Oliveira who was to go to Goa (Coleridge, II 191-2; Schurhammer & Wicki, II 133-4; Kono 441-2).

Why did Xavier not start Latin education in Japan?

[4] For the school in Malacca, see also Teixeira 98-9.

As we have seen, Francis Xavier promoted Latin education in Goa and Malacca. However, there is no evidence to suggest that he worked on Latin education in Japan. We should be reminded that the environment surrounding Xavier's missionary work in Goa and Malacca was quite different from that of Japan. These two cities were already part of Portuguese territory, and Christianity had already arrived there before Xavier came. Xavier was welcomed by the local people. It is almost certain that there was not a huge objection towards his plan to teach Latin in schools, and it must have been easy to obtain land to build a school and to gather local children or Portuguese students for the school.

In contrast, when Xavier came to Japan, few Westerners were living there. In addition, Christianity as well as Western culture were not rooted in Japan. It is well known that Xavier was the first Westerner to introduce Christianity to Japan. However, he was not always welcomed by the local people. After he landed in Kagoshima in August 1549, he started his missionary work. Some of the members of his audiences ridiculed his poor pronunciation and unusual gestures, and some of them also said he was crazy (Schurhammer, IV 109). In Yamaguchi, he preached Christianity on the streets and in the homes of the nobility who showed an interest in the new teaching, but few of them converted (Schurhammer, IV 443). Xavier and his companions went to Miyako, the capital of Japan at the time. On their way, they were subjected to the constant dangers of the land and sea because of wars and pirates. They experienced many hardships due to the intensely cold conditions as they made their trip in the midst of winter (Schurhammer, IV 443-4).

In addition, Xavier did his missionary work under the oppression of Buddhists. In Kagoshima, the Buddhist monks insisted that if the duke (Takahisa Shimazu) permitted his vassals to accept the new religion, he would lose his lands. Consequently, the duke finally yielded to the demands of the bonzes. Conversions to Christianity were forbidden and the death penalty was threatened to be put in place for any further conversions to the new religion (Schurhammer, IV 124-5, 443; Schurhammer & Wicki, II 259; Kono 526). Xavier said the bonzes were angry because many local people had converted to Christianity (Schurhammer & Wicki, II 264; Kono 530) and they hated Xavier for uncovering their deceitful teachings (Schurhammer & Wicki, II 267; Kono 534).

In such a desperate situation, Xavier even appeared to have had a plan to establish a language school in Japan also,[5] as he built several schools in Goa and Malacca. Actually, he built a house of the Society in Yamaguchi in 1552 (Schurhammer, IV 553; Schurhammer & Wicki, II 371; Kono 626-7), which he probably planned to organize like a school. Xavier often wrote about his intention to allow the persons in the house to study Japanese language and religion, and to train the interpreters to help the higher-ranking priests who came from Europe.[6] Üçerler points out that Xavier's purpose seemed to be training the missionaries to preach in Japanese and engage in disputation with local Buddhists (15). However, Xavier did not write in his letters that the students had to study Latin, and the intention of this house was not to teach Latin to the local students.

Valignano and Latin education in Japan

After Xavier left Japan in 1551, the missionaries who came after him in the 1550s and 1560s continued to acknowledge the importance of education, and, at first, they provided primary level education for the sons and daughters of local Christians in Japan, besides teaching the basics of reading and writing. They also gave catechetical and musical instruction to the children (Üçerler 16).

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[5] See Üçerler 15-16 who says that Xavier's dream was to establish a university-level college in the capital, Miyako (Kyoto).

[6] Xavier wrote that the school in Yamaguchi would be useful to train interpreters who would help outstanding missionaries from Europe. Cf. Schurhammer, IV 440, 546; Schurhammer & Wicki, II 275, 290, 298, 346, 371; Kono 542, 553, 558-9, 608, 626.

Moreover, Latin was also taught. Japanese students were required to memorize some of the important Latin prayers by rote: e.g. *Ave Maria*, *Miserere Mei Deus*, and *Salve Regina* (Taida 567; *Cartas* 77; Murakami & Yanagiya 235-6; Matsuda, III-1 350). It was perhaps by 1564 that they produced a grammar primer in Japanese that explained Latin verb conjugations and syntax, along with a vocabulary list providing the Portuguese and Japanese meanings of Latin terms (Taida 567; *Cartas* 147; Murakami & Yanagiya 389; Matsuda, III-2 208-9).

Latin education in Japan started to be gradually promoted, and it was systematically developed by Alessandro Valignano who, thirty years after Xavier, came to Japan as the *Padre Visitador*, the highest-ranking priest in Asia. Let us look at the outline of Latin education organized by Valignano. When he arrived at Kuchinotsu, Japan in 1579, he gathered the missionaries to hold a conference (Tsuruta 25). The Jesuits considered how best to develop Japanese priests and educate Japanese people, and it was decided to build schools known as *seminario*, *noviciado*, and *collegio*. A child would start elementary school in the *seminario*, and Latin was taught in the *seminario* as the official language of the Catholic Church. Moreover, a printing press was imported in 1590, with which several kinds of books, including a *Latin Grammar Book* (1594) and a *Latin-Portuguese-Japanese Dictionary* (1595), were printed. Valignano also improved the standards of Latin education by employing teachers who were fluent in both Japanese and Latin.[7] Luís Fróis wrote in the annual report of 1596 that, during that year, there were 121 students enrolled in the *seminario* at Arie and three Latin classes were held (78; Matsuda, I-2 170). There, students gave orations in Latin, learned to compose Latin texts, and even performed plays in Latin (Fróis 80-1; Matsuda, I-2 171). Some Japanese Jesuits learned Latin remarkably well (Ide 222-3) and thus became Latin teachers.[8] A number of Latin compositions written by Japanese people during this period still remain, allowing us to evaluate the effectiveness of Jesuit linguistic education.[9]

Many Latin books were printed, and students used them to learn Latin,[10] as was done in schools in Europe. However, Valignano realized it would be impossible to reproduce humanistic studies as taught in Europe. The young students in the Japanese Jesuit *collegio* came from different cultural and intellectual backgrounds, and thus they had different needs; they consisted of Japanese, Europeans, and Portuguese born in India and Macau. Moreover, they needed to study Japanese as well as Latin and theology, which were also taught in European schools. Therefore, in the Japanese *collegio*, the study of Greek, which was required in European schools[11], was replaced by the training in Japanese language and classical texts.[12]

The environment in the Japan of Valignano's time was quite different from that of Xavier's time. When Valignano came to Japan in 1579, Christianity was already accepted, especially in the Kyushu region which is a large island located in western Japan. The number of Japanese Christians increased dramatically and reached approximately 100,000 by 1579 and 150,000 by 1581 (Taida 568). At around the time of 1600, there were approximately 400,000 to 500,000 Japanese Christians, while the population of Japan was about twenty million (Volpi 35, 44, 219). Some federal lords chose to protect

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[7] For the Latin teachers, see Cieslik 27-138.

[8] For the Japanese teachers of Latin, see Cieslik 119-37.

[9] For the outline of the Latin education organized by Valignano, I depend on Taida 568-79.

[10] See Taida 577: e.g. Cicero's orations and Virgil's works were printed. The *Compendium Catholicae Veritatis*, which includes texts on astronomy, philosophy, and theology, was edited by Pedro Gómez in Latin and then translated into Japanese. Also, the doctrines which had been decided at the Council of Trent and the *Exercita Spiritualia* of Ignacio López de Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus, were printed in Latin.

[11] For the importance of learning Greek in European schools, see Hughes 271-2.

[12] For the difference between Jesuit schools in Japan and those in Europe, see Üçerler 26.

Christians. In 1580, Harunobu Arima and Nobunaga Oda provided land for the Christian schools to be built upon (Taida 569-70). There were more than thirty-five federal lords who believed in Christianity (Cieslik & Ota 63).

Moreover, we should remember that Valignano regarded Japan as the most important place for missions in Asia. He said that the mission in Japan was the most important and the most highly expectant one, because the people were talented and extremely polite. He believed that even highly educated Westerners who were very knowledgeable would have lived comfortably in Japan (Wicki 310; Takahashi 388-9). Valignano said that he could surely send the Western people of great talent to Japan, and that the people whom the Society of Jesuits sent to Japan should be of greater virtue, prudence, and confidence (Wicki 300, 310-11; Takahashi 370, 389). Moreover, he wrote that Western Jesuits were willing to go to Japan (Wicki 287; Takahashi 338).[13] He emphasized the importance of sending as many Jesuits as possible to Japan, because it was the most important place for the Society of Jesus (Wicki 315; Takahashi 397-8).

In contrast, Valignano was disappointed with the situation in Goa at that time. He spent considerable time in India between 1574 and 1577, 1583 and 1588, and 1595 and 1597. While in India, he visited the missions from Goa to Kochi and promoted the formation of a native Indian clergy (Worcester 815). However, he seriously criticized the Indian people. He said that only a few people should be permitted to enter the Society. They were spoiled and grew up badly in the barren land and the bad climate. They could not become disciplined and had little knowledge of religious perfection. Furthermore, he said that it was common for all these people in India to be of little intellect and to make little progress in learning (Wicki 259; Takahashi 287-8). As for St. Paul’s College, he said that there were not enough students and Goa was not an appropriate place for study (Wicki 153; Takahashi 55). There were no schools except for Jesuit schools, and there were no professors or research centers. There was nothing there to motivate people to study (Wicki 257; Takahashi 283-4).

Thus, Valignano’s evaluation of Japan was far higher than that of other regions. This highly regarded reputation of Japan enabled him to devote human and financial resources into Japanese missionary works, although the resources of the Jesuits were not infinite, either in manpower or financially.[14] In total, Valignano sent one hundred and forty Jesuit missionaries to Japan, and built more than four hundred churches or chapels (Volpi 359). Also, as we have seen before, he built hospitals and schools (three *collegios,* two *seminarios,* and one *noviciado*) as well as importing a printing press (Volpi 360). In such circumstances and under the direction of Valignano, Latin education was able to proceed in Japan.

Conclusion

The environment surrounding Christianity in Japan in Valignano’s time was quite different from that of Xavier’s time. It was rather similar to Goa and Malacca of Xavier’s time; there were many Christians, and Christianity was accepted by the lords and society. The spread of Christianity and the sympathetic political environment made it easier to promote Latin language education. Comparing Xavier’s stay in Japan with his stay in Goa and Malacca and Valignano’s stay in Japan, it can be said that Xavier faced a very difficult situation and could not afford to start Latin education in Japan.

[13] Valignano said it was very hard for Western Jesuits to live among Indian people. Cf. Wicki 287-8; Takahashi 338-40.

[14] A manpower shortage and a financial shortage were always pressing problems. Valignano often described the lack of funds and manpower. E.g. Wicki 154, 157, 287; Takahashi 56, 60, 338.

It is quite probable that Xavier did consider teaching Latin to Japanese people, as he did in Goa and Malacca. As we have seen, Xavier founded the Jesuit house in Yamaguchi and was willing to organize it as a place to study. This would seem to imply that Xavier did in fact have plans to teach Latin in Japan, although it was impeded due to the local circumstances. Moreover, he evaluated Japanese people highly as follows: "From Japán, from the experience which we have of the land, I would let you know what we have learned about it: First of all, the people with whom we have thus far conversed are the best that we have yet discovered; and it seems to me that, among pagan nations, there will not be another to surpass the Japanese" (Schurhammer, IV 82; Schurhammer & Wicki, II 186; Kono 471). Xavier especially evaluated the intelligence of the Japanese people highly: "A large portion of the people can read and write, which is a great help learning the prayers and the things of God in a short time. […] They are a people of great good will, very sociable, and eager to know" (Schurhammer, IV 83; Schurhammer & Wicki, II 187; Kono 472). The letters written by Fróis about the Japanese people are also worthy of note: "for in their culture, their manners, and their customs, as our Father Master Francis used to say, they excel the Spaniards so much in many things that it is a shame to mention it" and "Many times I heard Father Master Francis of happy memory say that the faith could be easily introduced into Japan because of the fine intelligence of the people and their good natural qualities" (Schurhammer, IV 558).

As we have seen, Xavier did not refer to the establishment or the possibility of Latin education in Japan in his extant letters. Latin education was not promoted in his time. Due to his high evaluation of Japanese people, it is quite natural to surmise that he wanted to promote Latin education in Japan as he did so in Goa and Malacca. However, the political and social situation in Japan at that time did not allow him to do so. His ideas were spread to the next generation. His records, which praised the Japanese people, were passed on to the Jesuits who later came to Japan.[15] Valignano visited Japan thirty years after Xavier, and he regarded Japan as the most important place for the Jesuit mission in Asia. This led to Valignano finally being able to establish the Latin language educational system in Japan.

[15] For the reports of Xavier, see Üçerler 15: "In fact, as detailed reports from Japan began to be published in numerous editions and circulated widely in Europe, they provided humanist intellectuals with a new stimulus to Renaissance reflection on the universality of human nature."

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A Study of the Material and Firing Reactions of Relief Dots on Ancient Greek Red-figure Pottery[1]

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Abstract

Red-figure pottery (c.530-c.250 BCE) is one of the most representative objects of ancient Greek civilization. Inscriptions on the pottery preserve ancient Greek words, while paintings thereon reflect the images people had of gods and goddesses. The paintings also record several aspects of society and the life at that time. The technique used for the pottery has attracted scholars' attention since the eighteenth century, and better accounts are still sought. This paper is concerned with the decorative relief dots on ancient Greek red-figure pottery. The relief dots are found to consist entirely of black gloss which could have been produced with ease during firing. This recalls the Greeks' interest in convenient but precise techniques. Such characteristics helped this pottery technique to be learned and spread without much difficulty. Since the Greeks tended to be conservative toward customs and traditions, they passed this technique down from generation to generation. By way of trade and colonization it was brought to a wide area where the Greek culture reached to. The technique was, and became, one symbol of Greek civilization.

Keywords: Ancient Greece, red-figure pottery, relief dots, black gloss, firing

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Background of Research

Ancient Greek red-figure pottery and the black gloss applied on it are among the most representative objects and materials of the civilization. As shown below, relief dots on this type of pottery can reveal the properties of black gloss and why it was widely used by the Greeks. This study shows that black gloss could have been easily produced during firing, while the products are of high quality, recalling other Greek techniques that were convenient but precise. For example, John Boardman proposes a multiple brush fitted to a compass that was used to draw concentric circles on pottery of the Protogeometric period, c. 110-900BCE (Boardman 1998: 14). In addition, the Getty Conservation Institute, the Aerospace Corporation, and the SLAC National Accelerator Laboratory in Stanford University received a generous reward by the National Science Foundation, USA, for a three-year project on ancient Greek pottery starting from January 2011, hoping to reveal the secret of the black gloss technique. If the Greeks were able to produce such precise a product with a simple technique, this would be inspiring for modern advanced technologies.[3]

Decorations with black gloss include relief dots. Works with these are not in large quantity, but many are the best pieces of red-figure pottery. The black gloss of relief dots is much thicker than that of other decorative elements, for example, the black background of the red-figure, which is very thin. The thickness of the relief dot is beneficial to our understanding of the manufacturing process of the pottery, as various effects of production on black gloss could be seen more clearly in relief dots than, for example, in the thin black background. The properties of black gloss can be revealed more easily in relief dots.

This study of relief dots shows the advantages of black gloss and explains why the Greeks used the same material generation after generation, over a period of more than five hundred years. Black gloss represents technical characteristics of ancient Greece: it was easy to use while producing precise results. The technique also represents the conservative attitude of the Greek culture, as people usually followed customs and traditions. In 399 BCE, the philosopher Socrates was executed for corrupting the young, showing that the Greeks usually did not accept the philosopher's teaching of re-thinking and challenging the social tradition (Field 1970). Black gloss symbolizes the pursuit of simple but perfect techniques in ancient Greek civilization, and it recalls the conservative attitude and inheritance of existing customs of the people. Through

[3] 'Deciphering the Elements of Iconic Pottery'. Discoveries. National Science Foundation. Web. Access June 28, 2017. https://www.nsf.gov/mobile/discoveries/disc_summ.jsp?cntn_id=119082&org=NSF

trade, colonization and other types of movement, Greek pottery technique was brought to a wide range of areas surrounding the Mediterranean and the Black Seas, and to the inlands of Europe and Africa. The pottery technique was so learned and used by people in numerous city-states and regions.

Among Greek pottery decorated with black gloss, red-figure pottery is the type that has been studied most thoroughly, and the scholarship has been influential for studies of other types of Greek pottery, for example, the black-figure. This study focuses on black relief dots on red-figure pottery, but the result can be applied on other Greek pottery decorated with black gloss. Here is an introduction of red-figure pottery in ancient Greek society and culture.

Ancient Greek Red-figure Pottery

Ancient Greek red-figure pottery (c. 530-300BCE, Fig. 1) is so named because figures drawn on the pottery are reddish. This color is not due to an application of a red pigment on the pottery, but it is the original color of the clay after the firing of the pottery. Craftsmen applied black gloss raw material in areas surrounding the figures, and it became black after the firing, resulting in a decoration of reddish figures against a black ground. Details of figures were drawn or filled in with black gloss, occasionally incised with lines. Various shades of added red, ranging from orange-red to purplish-red, could be used to represent blood and to paint ribbons and wreaths worn on the head. Added blue and green colors, and even gilded ornaments, can be seen on some of red-figure vases dated in the fourth century BCE, whose colorful effect is characteristic of this special type of red-figure.

Figure 1a- Athenian red-figure pottery, 6th cent. BCE, amphora shape, by painter Euthymides, from Vulci. Munich, Antikensammlungen, no. 8730 (J378) (2307).

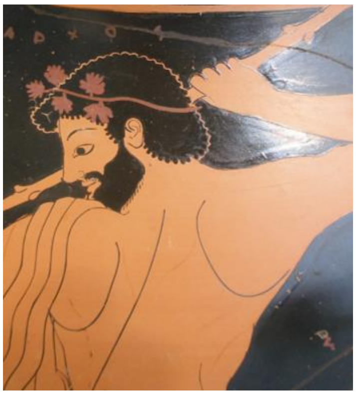

Figure 2b- detail of Fig. 1a. Field of view 5 cm wide.

About 49,000 pieces of red-figure have been published,[4] and the total amount of the excavated can be a hundred or thousand times more, *i.e.* probably reaching a number of a few million or even more. The red-figure is therefore among the most representative objects of the ancient Greek civilization. It is found all over the Mediterranean region, as well as inland in Europe and Africa, and in the coastal areas of the Black Sea. The red-figure was so widely spread because the Greeks brought them to these places by way of trade and colonization. The latter could be testified by the foundation oath of Cyrene, Libya, sworn by the Theraeans when they decided to establish it as a colony (Fornara 1977: Nr. 18, Parker 2014: 78-79). The Theraean assembly selected colonists, and these were to build a new city-state with the culture of the motherland. As pottery was essential for daily life, it is reasonable that potters were sent to the colony. The pottery technique was therefore spread. In addition, the Greek should have brought pottery with them when they travelled to colonies or for trading; some pottery pieces would be for personal use, while others could be goods. This should have been another way to spread Greek pottery.

The red-figure pottery is associated with ancient Greek civilization essentially because ancient Greek was written on some pieces. About one tenth of the pottery were painted or inscribed in Greek. In the 18th century, a large number of the pottery were excavated in Italy, and they were originally regarded as Italian products made by the Etruscans before ancient Rome. However, inscriptions on the pottery were later confirmed as Greek, including names of mythological figures, *kalos* and *kale* names which indicate handsome men or women, and occasionally dialogues from Greek drama. Inscriptions on red-figure preserve samples of ancient Greek language and have been studied linguistically. (Kretschmer 1894: 73-225, Bothmer 1987, Cook

[4] According to the number in the online database of the Beazley Archive, University of Oxford. www.beazley.ox.ac.uk

1997: 241-246, Immerwahr 1990: 57-80, Wachter 2001).

Another reason to associate red-figure with ancient Greek civilization is the figures on the pottery, who often recall characters in Greek mythology (Graf 1987). Red-figure vase-painting has therefore become an important source for the study of Greek iconography. For example, some figures on red-figure have the inscription of Zeus, and they represent how vase-painters or their contemporaries imaged the god. Also, for example, Athena on red-figure pottery is often shown as holding a shield and a spear and wearing a helmet and a chest plate -- the aegis, on which the head of Medusa is hung. This image is similar to the depiction of Athena in the epic poem *Iliad* (5.733-7) attributed to Homer. Likewise, scholars have been able to identify other figures mentioned in Greek literature on red-figure pottery. Red-figure vase-painting also preserves Greek daily-life scenes, such as fishing, farming, warfare, weddings, funerals, symposia, education, women and domestic affairs, *etc.* Greek red-figure pottery provides images of ordinary people in Greek antiquity.

Greek red-figure pottery has played an important role in dating archaeological sites. The pottery is dated between c. 530 and c. 250 BCE, when the Greek civilization was flourishing, and what Athens achieved was the most prominent. So far, dating of red-figure pottery has been largely based on the style of the figure drawing, which is traditionally believed to change from a severer style to a freer style during the period of production. Some vases are dated from c. 530-400 BCE partially because the styles of the drawings are similar to those of some sculptures dated more certainly around the same period (Langlotz 1920: 17-23, Philadelpheus 1922, Pyne 1933: 272, 275, Brinkmann 1994). Another reason is that some drawings on vases are similar to those of a few painters recorded in literature, whose flourishing dates are known (Pausanias 1979: 10.25.1-10.31.12, Stansbury-O'Donnell 1989, 1990, Pollitt 1990: 126-141).[5] Some vases were excavated from particular places and contexts which probably are related to certain battles recorded in history (Schliemann 1884, Staes *et al.* 1890, Staes 1890, 1891, 1893, Karo 1930, Schilardi 1977). These vases are therefore believed to be made not too long before the battles. Red-figure pottery dated from c. 400-300 BCE corresponds to no styles in objects and paintings whose dates are certain, except two red-figure vases that were found with fourth-century coins.[6] Vases that are dated from the fourth century are relatively late because their styles are more decorative, with more added colors and, in large vases, with compositions that are

[5] For example, the Niobid Painter's work Louvre G341, the Meidias Painter's work BM E224, and a work of the Painter of Bologna 279, Ferrara 3031.

[6] *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1962, 366, 'vasi e figure rosse', no. 2; 367, 'monete', no. 1, 348, fig. 3h. *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1931, 588-594, 614, figs. 8-10.

more complex. These are believed to be features of later development. The dating of Greek red-figure pottery has been based on the style of vase-painting. The pottery was excavated in large quantities in the 18th and 19th centuries, and authoritative theories about it were gradually formed. Archaeology was in an early stage of developing, and stratigraphy and other dating methods were not the mainstream and were not applied on the pottery. The style of vase-painting was the major consideration in dating the pottery, which is still in use today. Numerous vase-painting styles have been carefully distinguished, and their relationships have been thoroughly studied. This helps to establish a systematic chronology that could be applied to the pottery as a whole. When red-figure pottery is found in an archaeological site, the date of the site usually relies on the date of the pottery pieces.

Finally, Greek red-figure pottery is important for Western culture and scholarship because of its good quality and technique of production. Its black gloss is lustrous and has attracted the attention of scholars since the 18th century, being the first ancient material to be analysed scientifically (Jones 1986: 798). So far, the technique of the pottery has not been fully understood, and we still wait for more precise answers, including those about the drawing instrument, the clay source, the raw material of black gloss, and the way of firing the pottery. This study investigates relief dots on red-figure pottery, which are black in colour, and are associated with the properties of black gloss. How this reacted in firing is crucial for the success of production. This study starts from the definitions of relief dots and of black gloss, proceeding to X scientific research, and finally it explains why the Greeks used black gloss to decorate pottery over a very long time.

Relief Dots

Relief dots, black in colour, about 0.1-2.0 mm in diameter, are used to indicate protruding hair locks¸ or spherical objects such as grapes. Classical archaeologists usually regard Joseph Veach Noble (1988) as the authority on the technique of Greek painted pottery, but he did not discuss the technique of the relief dot, though a photograph illustrating relief lines also include relief dots. As far as I know, the most important past study is Beth Cohen (1997). She discusses the raw material of black gloss according to the phenomena on a few vases: First, some relief dots on a vase-painting by Euphronios are damaged and reveal an orange material beneath the black surface. Second, another vase-painting, also by Euphronios, is decorated with black relief dots as well as relief dots covered by gold leaves. She says that black relief dots were made by application of a thin layer of black gloss on relief clay dots, which was similar to the way of adhering gold leaves to clay dots. Nevertheless, my study shows various phenomena of broken relief dots on different vases, and the phenomena can all be explained if the dots were entirely made of black gloss material. This formed both the volume and color of relief dots.

Black Gloss

The black decorative material on red-figure pottery is called ‘black gloss’ by scholars of the field, who avoid referring it as ‘glaze’ because its properties differ from those of ordinary glazes. First, the silica content in black gloss is between 42% and 48% by weight (Table 1), which is relatively insufficient in comparison to glaze, whose silica content is usually between 45% and 80% (Shiue 2013: 22). The silica content in black gloss is close to the lower limit, or even less, than that in glaze. Second, black gloss is not fused as a true vitreous glaze (Tite *et al.* 1982, Jones 1986, Maniatis *et al.* 1993), although a research group discovered a very thin glassy film (c. 0.1 μm) on Greek black gloss. This film can reflect light in a particular manner, and they call such black gloss ‘glazed black gloss’, to differentiate from others with no such film (Maniatis *et al.* 1993). The current study does not use ‘glaze’ to describe the black decorative material on Greek pottery. This is to avoid confusion with ordinary glazes, and ‘black gloss’ is used throughout this paper. In addition, opinions in Th. Schumann (1942) and Adam Winter (1978) have been widely accepted, which say that the raw material of black gloss was the finest particles derived from clay of the vase body. Black gloss’s Chinese translation, ‘black clayish-coating on pottery’, should be suitable.

Table 1 Chemical Composition of Greek Black Gloss (w%)

	SiO_2	TiO_2	Al_2O_3	FeO	MnO	MgO	CaO	Na_2O	K_2O	P_2O_5
Pavićević (1974)	43.12	0.43	29.00	14.15	0.02	1.69	0.35	n.d.	3.69	–
Tite *et al.* (1982)	45.81	0.73	29.38	14.62	n.d.	1.92	0.67	0.82	5.75	0.30

Maggetti *et al.* (1981)	45.89	0.41	29.12	15.64	0.09	3.17	0.17	0.83	4.89	n.d.
Maggetti *et al.* (1981)	45.06	0.32	28.86	14.09	0.11	2.21	0.65	0.88	6.98	-
Maggetti *et al.* (1981)	45.02	0.48	28.80	14.40	0.12	2.35	0.76	0.94	6.74	-
Kingery (1991) No. IV	47.3	0.5	29.3	12.8	_	1.7	0.9	0.3	6.9	_
Kingery (1991) No. V	47.8	0.3	28.7	12.7	_	2.0	1.0	0.7	6.7	0.1
Maniatis *et al.* (1993)	46.8	0.5	31.7	13.5	0.1	1.9	0.9	0.6	4.1	_
Maniatis *et al.* (1993)	46.7	0.6	31.0	13.1	0.1	1.8	0.3	0.8	5.5	_
Maniatis *et al* (1993)	43.4	0.6	29.8	15.4	0.1	2.2	0.9	0.9	6.1	0.5
Maniatis *et al.* (1993)	45.6	0.9	29.2	15.3	0.1	1.9	0.6	0.8	4.7	0.4
Maniatis *et al.* (1993)	45.3	0.4	30.9	14.8	_	1.9	_	Tr	6.5	_
Maniatis *et al.* (1993)	45.8	0.6	32.4	15.5	0.1	1.6	0.3	0.5	3.0	_
Maniatis *et al.* (1993)	45.6	1.2	29.1	14.4	0.2	2.0	0.9	0.7	5.6	_

Maniatis *et al.* (1993)	42.6	1.1	28.6	17.2	_	1.8	1.1	0.7	6.5	_

The flux in Greek black gloss, which helped melting, is possibly potassium oxide (K_2O). According to Table 1, the proportion of silica to potassium oxide ($SiO_2 : K_2O$) in black gloss is between 9.5 : 1 and 25 : 1, and it is closer to the proportion in high temperature glaze, which is 10 : 1, and much different from the proportion in low temperature glaze, which is 2 : 1. High temperature glaze melts in a temperature above 1300 ˚C (Shiue 2013: 22), but scholars believe that Greek black gloss was fired in a temperature considerably below 1300 ˚C. As far as I know, there have been three analyses of the firing temperature of the pottery, and they report the temperature between 940˚C and 1100˚C (Tite 1969), between 850 ˚C and 1050˚C (Maniatis 1976), and between 770˚C and 840˚C (Schilling 2003), respectively. These figures indicate that the pottery was not fired in a high temperature as defined by modern potters. It could have been fired in a temperature below the range of low temperature glaze, whose lower limit is 900˚C. The highest possible firing temperature of red-figure pottery could reach the range of low-to-medium temperature glaze, whose firing temperature is between 1000˚C and 1160˚C (Shiue 2013: 18). This means that black gloss of red-figure pottery was not fired above 1300 ˚C and did not melt.

The proportion of aluminium oxide to silica ($Al_2O_3 : SiO_2$) in Greek black gloss also shows that this is not an ordinary glaze, and it is impossible to follow the principle of ordinary glaze to anticipate the firing reaction of black gloss on the basis of its chemical composition.

According to modern potters, the proportion of aluminium oxide to silica is better between 1:8 and 1:12, and a shiny black glaze can be produced (Shiue 2013:24). In Greek black gloss, however, the proportion is between 1:2 and 1:3, far away from the ideal proportion for glaze. In addition, Greek black gloss contains a considerably high concentration of iron oxide, between 12% and 18%. The reaction of iron oxide in black gloss is different from that in glaze because black gloss did not melt. Other materials, such as magnesium oxide (MgO), should have interacted with iron oxide in black gloss differently, in comparison to the situation in melted glaze. In Greek black gloss, materials containing alkaline earth metals, such as magnesium oxide (MgO) and calcium oxide (CaO), are low in concentration: calcium oxide (CaO) is below 1.3% and magnesium oxide (MgO) is below 2.2%. These could have functioned as the flux of small quantity in the firing temperatures analysed mentioned above:

940-1100˚C (Tite 1969), 850-1050˚C (Maniatis 1976), 770-840˚C (Schilling 2003). In short, the composition and firing temperature of Greek black gloss are considerably different from those of ordinary glaze, and the reaction of black gloss in firing did not follow the principles of glaze.

So far, scientific analyses of Greek black gloss show that the color of the pottery is due to the content of iron oxide between 12% and 18% by weight. Iron is the colorant of Greek black gloss, and some compounds containing iron of low oxidation states contribute to the dark shade of black gloss. Some samples of black gloss contain manganese below 0.2%, which is a very small amount compared to the iron content and is not so important in the coloration of Greek black gloss. The black gloss's chemical composition appears to relate to clay (Kingery 1991, Maggetti et al. 1981, Maniatis et al. 1993, Pavićević 1974, Tite et al. 1982) (Table 2), and the general opinion is therefore that black gloss raw material was clay or contained clay. Scholars of this opinion believe that the raw material of black gloss was a fine slip obtained from levigation of the same clay as was used in the body of the vase (Schumann 1942, Winter 1978). Levigation is to mix clay with water and let this settle. Larger and heavier particles usually settle earlier, while the smaller and lighter usually accumulate in the upper part of the sediment. Fine particles can be obtained by repetitive levigation of the upper part of the sediment each time.

Table 2 Chemical Composition of Clay of Greek Pottery Decorated with Black Gloss

Sample	SiO_2	TiO_2	Al_2O_3	FeO	MnO	MgO	CaO	Na_2O	K_2O	P_2O_5
Maggetti *et al.* (1981) No. 1	59.97	0.75	16.78	6.14	0.10	3.13	9.66	0.99	2.95	0.28
Maggetti *et al.* (1981) No. 2	58.07	0.77	17.42	5.91	0.10	2.74	10.53	0.98	2.98	0.69
Maggetti *et al.* (1981) No. 3	58.37	0.81	17.90	6.68	0.10	2.99	8.60	1.01	3.25	0.67

Kingery (1991) No. III, 5^{th} century	51.4	0.8	27.4	8.1	_	3.8	4.2	0.2	3.6	_
Kingery (1991) No. IV, 4th century	52.4	0.9	24.7	7.6	_	3.8	6.5	0.3	3.3	0.1
Kingery (1991) No. V, 4^{th} century	47.5	0.7	26.7	7.6	_	3.5	8.1	0.4	2.8	1.4
Maniatis *et al.* (1993) ATT-1, from Paros	50.1	1.1	19.9	10.5	0.2	4.9	8.6	0.7	3.8	_
Maniatis *et al.* (1993) ATT-2, from Paros	54.0	1.0	21.0	9.0	0.1	3.5	6.1	0.9	4.3	_
Maniatis *et al.* (1993) ATT-3, from Paros	53.3	1.0	20.1	8.6	0.2	4.3	7.7	0.7	4.3	_
Maniatis *et al.* (1993) ATT-4, from Paros	54.0	1.0	20.1	9.0	0.2	3.5	6.8	0.9	4.5	_

Maniatis *et al.* (1993) ATT-5, from Paros	57.5	0.9	17.9	7.9	0.1	4.7	5.8	0.9	4.0	_
Maniatis *et al.* (1993) ATT-6, from Paros	57.2	1.0	18.8	8.1	0.1	4.8	5.6	0.7	3.4	_
Maniatis *et al.* (1993) AH-11, from Turkey	50.2	1.1	17.8	10.9	0.3	4.8	9.5	0.8	3.8	_
Maniatis *et al.* (1993) LIO-9, from Athens	50.2	1.0	18.2	10.5	0.3	5.2	9.2	0.8	3.9	_

The theory that black gloss raw material was derived from clay of the vase body, cannot solve one problem: the concentrations of some elements in these two materials are significantly different (Kingery 1991, Maniatis et al. 1993, Pavićević 1974, Tite et al. 1982). The concentration of calcium is very low in black gloss, between c. 0.01 and c. 0.25 times of the concentration in the clay of the vase body. Experiments of repetitive levigation cannot always reduce the concentration of calcium in clay to a level similar to that of black gloss (Maniatis et al. 1993). Experiments of repetitive levigation also cannot increase the concentration of iron in clay to a level similar to that in black gloss (Kingery 1991, Maniatis et al. 1993, Tang et al. 2001, Tite et al. 1982).

Because of the difficulty just mentioned, scholars have provided other suggestions about the raw material of black gloss. One suggestion involves the addition of iron oxide (Kingery 1991), another says that a special 'glaze clay' was used as the raw material, which would have been high in iron and low in calcium (Aloupi-Siotis 2008, Kingery 1991). The finest particles of such a clay from Kalami (Crete), and another from Krora (between Boeotia and Attica) have been successfully used for replication (Aloupi-Siotis 2008).

The raw material was transformed into black gloss by firing. Schumann's theory on firing of red-figure pottery is widely accepted in the field of classical archaeology (Schumann 1942). He suggests that the pottery was fired in three consecutive stages, where the atmosphere changed from oxidizing, to reducing and then to oxidizing again. In the first oxidizing stage, iron compounds in the pottery tended to be those with iron of a high oxidation state, and both clay and black gloss material were red. In the following reducing atmosphere, iron compounds transferred to those with iron of a low oxidation state, and both clay and black gloss material became black. At the same time black gloss was partially melt (sintered) and formed. In the third stage, when oxidizing atmosphere was re-introduced, black gloss was impermeable to gases and therefore remained black. However, the clay without a gloss covering was still porous and allowed oxygen to penetrate. As a result, the black iron compounds in the clay were oxidized, and the clay became red. Through these three firing stages, figures on the pottery, which are not covered with black gloss, expose clay and show a red color, while the background of figures was applied with black gloss and is black after firing.

Table 3 summarizes the minerals detected in black gloss samples, showing that magnetite is often found, but other iron compounds are also present. Mineralogical compositions can vary, and different iron compounds are associated with various shades and textures of black gloss (Giorgetti et al. 2004). These reflect firing conditions that differed in oxygen partial pressure (ibid.). Other factors affecting black gloss appearance include particle size and shape (Gliozzo et al. 2004, Oberlies and Köppen 1962, Vendrell-Saz et al. 1991), which were influenced by the source of the raw material, its refinement, and the firing conditions (Gliozzo et al. 2004, Tang et al. 2001). Normal black gloss is amorphous and has layers (Maniatis et al. 1993), but misfired gloss in red or green is porous (Newman 2008)

Table 3 Minerals Detected in Greek Pottery Decorated with Black Gloss Dated from the Sixth to the First Century BCE

Minerals	Technique	Sample Characteristics	Publication
Wüstite (FeO)	XRD	3 samples, Classical Greek type	Bimson (1956)
Hercynite, or possibly a compound in the Fe_3O_4-$FeAl_2O_4$ series	XRD	Greek type	Oberlies (1968)
Fe_3O_4	Magnetic test, XRD	1 sample, 5th-century skyphos, Athenian type	Farnsworth and Wisely (1958)
Fe_3O_4	Magnetic test	Athenian type	Noble (1988)
Perhaps Fe, (Mg, Fe) SiO_3, or tiny crystals entrapped in quartz	XRD	Athenian type	Noble (1988)
Magnetite, hercynite	XRD	Athenian type	Hofmann (1966)
Magnetite, hercynite, maghemite, quartz	XRD	2 lekythoi, Athenian type	Noll *et al.* (1974)
Hercynite, hypersthene, magnetite, quartz	XRD, microprobe	1 sample, Athenian type	Pavicevic (1974).
A compound in the series magnetite-hercynite (Fe_3O_4-$FeAl_2$ O_4)	SEM, microprobe, XRD	2 samples, Athenian type	Tite *et al.* (1982)
Magnetic component associated with impure form of magnetite	MS (X-ray scattering)	1 sample, Athenian type	Longworth and Tite (1979)
Magnetite, titanomagnetite (Fe_2TiO_4)	TEM	8 samples, Athenian type	Maniatis *et al.* (1993)
Quartz, hercynite, magnetite, maghemite, ferrian spinel, hematite	Synchrotron X-ray Diffraction	2 samples, Athenian type	Tang *et al.* (2001)
Magnetite (Fe_3O_4), carbon (lampblack)	Raman microspectroscopy	5 samples, Athenian type	Pérez and Esteve-Tébar

			(2004)
A compound at the Fe_3O_4 end of the Fe_3O_4-$FeAl_2O_4$ series; ferrous iron, perhaps $(Mg, Fe)_7Si_8O_{22}(OH)_2$	MS (backscattering & absorption)	1 sample, late 6th century, from Cerveteri, Greek Etruscan type	Longworth and Warren (1975)
Two phase associations: (1) hercynite, magnetite, haematite, quartz, sanidine (2) hercynite, magnetite, quartz, sanidine	XRD	11 samples, Campanian type	Maggetti *et al.* (1981).

According to the studies mentioned here, the appearance of black gloss can vary, depending on source, refinement and firing. It can be of various textures and exhibit reddish, greenish and blackish shades. This paper investigates whether relief dots were entirely made from black gloss raw material, and whether shades in relief dots are associated with black gloss properties. It is on the bases of past studies on nature and variation of black gloss that this paper explains different phenomena of relief dots. This paper adopts an approach different from Cohen's (1997) and shows that black gloss material can be altered in many ways upon firing, which past studies on the subject do not include (Bimson 1956, Binns and Frazer 1929, Durand-Gréville 1891, Schumann 1942). As explained below, although relief dots' inner parts can be in different shades after firing, the surface of the relief dot is always black. This shows that the firing was not precisely the same, and that oxidizing and reducing stages, each could differ in strength and duration. The firing of Greek black gloss was a feasible technique. This was easy to learn, and the knowledge was easy to spread. It would continue to be used over a very long time in a society that was conservative and disliked change.

Research Method

This study approaches the problem theoretically and not by instrumental analysis because of some reasons in reality. Although the number of pieces of red-figure pottery is large, so far there have been no scientific analysis of relief dots, probably because vases decorated with relief dots are regarded particularly precious. These vases are among the best of red-figure pottery, and they are not many. Usually their prices are high, for example, a large vase painted by Euphronios, previously in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (museum number

1972.11.10), now returned to Italy and in the Villa Giulia Museum in Rome (museum number L.2006.10).[7] This vase-painting includes a mythological figure Sleep, whose hair is partially decorated with relief dots. It cost one million three hundred thousand US dollars in 1972 when the Metropolitan Museum bought it from an antiquarian dealer. This may be an extreme example, but other red-figure vases of good quality are not cheap either. Usually museums highly prize these vases, and even specialists of the research field may not touch them. It would require extraordinary communication and special arrangement in order to analyse relief dots instrumentally. Even so, I think it is possible to understand the material of relief dots to a certain extent on the basis of the phenomena mentioned below. This understanding could help us to select the most suitable raw material for replication experiment, as materials fired black are many. The understanding could also help us to choose a possible firing protocol, as firing varies greatly.

This study shows phenomena of relief dots that have not been discussed before, and it provides a new theory of their material. This is worked out by studying the phenomena, and the material should have been entirely made of black gloss. Through the discussion of various phenomena, this study provides different opinions on the formation of black gloss and on the firing of the pottery. Several past studies propose theories of Greek black gloss raw material and of the firing procedure, and some experimentally replicated the pottery (Bimson 1956, Binns and Frazer 1929, Durand-Gréville 1891, Farnsworth and Wisley 1958, Kahn and Wissinger 2008, Noble 1988, Schumann 1942). The properties of black gloss revealed by past studies are the basis of this research to investigate various phenomena of relief dots. This study of relief dots also shows other characteristics of black gloss that were not known before.

Samples Analysed

Red-figure vase-paintings are rarely decorated with relief dots, about twenty among nearly a thousand red-figure vases I have seen. Such vases are usually the finest of the pottery and are highly prized. Most of them are in collections of museums. As mentioned before, it would require extra negotiation and arrangement to analyse them instrumentally. Nevertheless, even without instrumental analysis, it is possible to understand some characteristics of the relief dots through their phenomena.

The twenty samples analyzed for this study (Table 4) are on works of the Andokides

[7] When this English version of the article was prepared, the vase was in Museo Nazionale Cerite, Cervetri.

Painter (c. 530BC), the Pioneer Group (including Euphronios, Phintias, Euthymides, c. 530-500BC), the Berlin and Kleophrades Painters (c. 500-450BC), the Meidias Painter and his manner (c. 450-425BC). They represent different periods and styles of painting. On seven samples, some relief dots are broken and their interior colors are shown, usually in ranges of orange, brown and blackish gray. The relief dots on the other thirteen samples are intact and do not show their interior colors, but it is still possible to study their characteristics and production procedures, with the help of sizes, shapes and ground colors of the relief dots. This study is based on personal examination of the samples, published photographs, the images in the Beazley Archive (Oxford), and digital photographs taken by the author.

Table 4 Samples of Relief Dots

Vase	**Painter**	**Diameter**	**Rounded boundaries**	**Lighter ground**	**Inside colour**	**Reference**
MFA 99.538	Andokides Painter	c. 1.5mm	+			AJA 2008：10.
Berlin F2159	Andokides Painter	c. 0.5-1.0mm	+	+		
BM B193	Andokides Painter	c. 0.5-1.5mm	+			
Getty 77.AE.86.1-2	Euphronios	c. 0.2-1.2mm	+		brown	Cohen 2006, 122.
Getty 86.AE.313.1-7	Euphronios	c.1.5-2.0mm	+	+		Cohen 2006, 124. White-ground vase.
Met L.1999.36.1	Euphronios	c. 0.3-1.5mm	+			
Louvre G103	Euphronios	c. 0.3-0.5mm	+			
Met 1972.11.10	Euphronios	c. 0.3-1.5mm	+			
Louvre G42	Phintias	c. 0.8-1.5mm	+	+	Gray; dark	

				gray	
Munich 2590	Phintias	c. 0.3-0.6mm	+	blackish gray	
Louvre CA2981	Berlin Painter	c. 1.5mm			Beazley Archive
Vatican 17907	Berlin Painter	c. 1.2-1.8mm			Beazley Archive
Würzburg L500	Berlin Painter	c. 0.3-1.0mm	+		Beazley Archive
BM E459	Berlin Painter	c. 1.5-2.0mm		Both gray and brown (few)	
Ashmolean 1891.689	Kleophrades Painter	c. 0.3-0.8mm	+	Single dark gray, few dark brown	
Met 13.233	Kleophrades Painter	c. 1.5mm	+		Noble 1988, 139. Cohen 2006, 107, fig. 1.
Berlin F2170	Kleophrades Painter (Late)	c. 0.6-1.2mm	+	Orange; dark brown	
Louvre G50	Kleophrades Painter (Later)	c. 0.3-1.5mm	+	Dark brown	
BM E224	Meidias Painter (name-vase)	c. 0.5-1.0 mm	+		
BM 95 10-29 2	Manner of Meidias Painter	c. 0.3-1.0mm	+		

BM E698	Imitation of, connected to Meidias Painter	c. 0.3-1.0mm	+	+

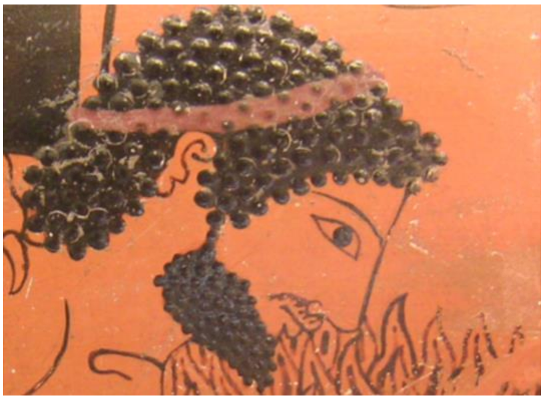

Figure 2 Round relief dots. Field of view c. 4 cm wide. Athenian red-figure pottery, 6th century BCE, amphora shape, by Andokides Painter, from Etruria. London, British Museum, no. B193.

Figure 3 Relief dots with orange and brown interiors. Field of view 1.5cm wide. Athenian red-figure pottery, 5th century BCE, pelike shape, by Kleophrades Painter, from Cervetri. Berlin, Antikensammlung, no. F2170.

Figure 4 Relief dots with blackish gray interiors. Field of view c. 2cm wide. Athenian red-figure pottery, 6th century BCE, cup, by Phintias, from Vulci. Munich, Antikensammlungen, no. 2590.

Observations and Discussion

The relief dots of all samples are very small and with diameters of between c. 0.2 and c. 2.0 mm. The black color of the relief dots provides strong contrast when applied on areas of the paler clay ground of the vase, or of a ground treated with a lighter tone of diluted black gloss (Figures 5-6). The interior of these dots, however, vary in color and may be orange, brown, gray or blackish gray (Figures 3-5). These phenomena can be all explained if the entire dots, including their insides, were made of the same black gloss material. This can be argued for in all relief dot contexts, as follows.

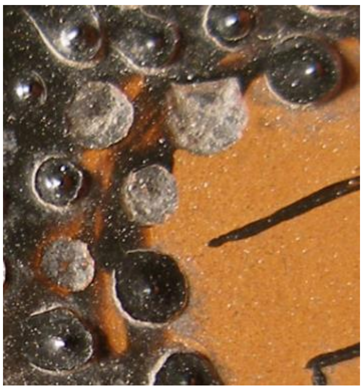

Figure 5 Broken relief dots show a dark gray material beneath. Brush-strokes can be seen in the space between the dots. Field of view c. 8.6 mm wide. Athenian red-figure pottery, 6th century BCE, amphora shape, by Phintias, from Vulci. Paris, Louvre Museum, no. G42.

Figure 6 Relief dots and their ground are in different shades. Field of view c. 4.5 mm wide. Athenian white-ground pottery, c. 510-500 BCE, fragment of cup, attributed to Euphronios. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, 86.AE.313.1-7. Cropped image of a photograph from Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. Title of the photograph: Attic White-Ground Cup (Lipped Inside) Fragment with Dionysos and a Satyr and One Black-Gloss Cup Fragment (rim).

First, relief dots may be against an obviously lighter ground, and this disagrees with the argument of Cohen (1997). She believes that relief dots were made by application of black gloss slip on hemi-spherical clay granules. She also believes that a single application of black gloss served both dots and ground, and so the dots and their ground are equally black. Sometimes, however, the space between the dots is filled with brush-strokes that are up to c. 1.7mm wide and loosely juxtaposed, leaving orange strips where the clay is exposed (Figure 5).[8] Against such loosely painted ground, roundish and solid black relief dots stand out. Significantly the diameters of the dots are wider than the brushstrokes, which are sometimes lighter, indicating that the coloring of the dots was not by these sweeping brushstrokes. Instead, each dot was formed by a separate application, which defined a roundish black area each time. This application procedure is again clearly seen on some other vases (Figure 6),[9] on which the relief dots are distributed over a ground of diluted black gloss slip that turned grey or translucent brown. The dots and their background are by separate applications.

Second, individual dots vary in both size and shape, revealing a technical requirement. Each relief dot was made individually, and its instrument should have been able to make dots of hemi-spherical shape each time with ease. Dots differ in size and shape,

[8] Berlin F2159, Louvre G42.

[9] Getty 86.AE.313.1-7, BM E698.

and it seems unreasonably onerous to make molds of individual tiny dots, to cover each mold with a black gloss slip, and to print its corresponding dot. It would be difficult to paint individual tiny dots with a brush, as brushstrokes would easily extend beyond the bases of the dots. The easiest and probable method would be to use the black gloss slip as the material to make up each entire dot, so that it formed both volume and color. Regardless of size and shape, each dot accurately turned black on the surface after firing.

Technical aspects of relief dots can also be revealed by studying phenomena of the relief dots' surfaces and interiors. As past studies show, mentioned above, variation in firing can cause different colors and textures of black gloss. Relief dots are black on the surface, while their interiors can be in other shades, which can be explained by the variation of the black gloss raw material. Likewise, some vase-paintings use black gloss both for the thin (5-100μm) black layer and for the protruding relief lines whose interiors show a range of colors (Figures 7-8). Reactions in black gloss raw material are more complicated than Schumann (1942) proposed, and products other than black gloss could be formed at different depths of a relief dot.

Figure 7 Color difference between surfaces and interiors of relief lines. Field of view c. 4mm wide. Athenian red-figure pottery, 5th century BCE, oinochoe shape, by Niobid Painter, from Athens. Paris, Louvre Museum, no. L62.

Figure 8 Color difference between the surface and interior of black gloss background. A part of a figure is shown in the lower right corner. Field of view c. 2cm wide.

Athenian red-figure pottery, 5th century BCE, oinochoe shape, by Niobid Painter, from Athens. Paris, Louvre Museum, no. L62.

Though entirely made of the same material, a relief dot can have different colors through its interior. The surface is black, while the interior varies between orange and blackish gray. As established by past studies on black gloss, these colors are caused by differing iron compounds, resulting from different kiln atmospheres. The relief dots' surface is black gloss, whose formation is associated with carbon monoxide. Mavis Bimson showed experimentally that, when the atmosphere becomes slightly reducing, black gloss material turns jet black, while the clay of the vase does not immediately change its color (Bimson 1956). This suggests that black gloss material was sensitive to carbon monoxide and could be easily reduced, and that it was during the reducing stage that a black glossy layer was formed. Carbon monoxide will reduce iron compounds, which will then stabilize in lower oxidation states, such as in the form of magnetite (Fe_3O_4), wüstite (FeO), or hercynite (Table 3). These are black (Bruni et al. 2005). Magnetite is an anti-flux, and so does not help fusion (Hamer 2004). Since it does not interact with the surrounding material, it often persists and can be detected in black gloss (Table 3). Wüstite (FeO) is a product of further reduction of magnetite (Bogdandy and Engell 1971, 18). It is a strong flux and will interact with the material around it (Hamer 2004, 39). As it is often altered during fusion, it is rarely detected in black gloss but contributes to the amorphous vitreous matrix of black gloss, which Yannis Maniatis and his colleagues found (Maniatis et al. 1993). In Table 3 only Bimson (1956) reports wüstite in black gloss; other studies with XRD technique do not obtain the same result. It is wüstite, a compound with iron of low oxidation state and likely formed in the reducing stage of firing, that facilitates vitrification and plays the key role in the formation of black gloss.

The interior, though made of the same material as the surface, did not necessarily become black, but in colors of orange, brown or blackish gray, indicating that it sometimes underwent a different chemical process. Orange and brown interiors (Figure 3), indicate that the dominant color sources are Fe^{III} compounds (Schwertmann 1993, Cornell and Schwertmann 2003). Carbon monoxide must have been either absent or insufficient to form black gloss. Factors limiting the supply of carbon monoxide to the interior of relief dots include the thickness of the dots and their fine texture. The interior received less carbon monoxide, while the surface was in contact with a higher concentration of carbon monoxide. This resulted in differing chemical processes inside and on the surface. The surface was reduced by carbon monoxide to be fully vitrified and form black gloss. In the interiors, however, weaker reducing conditions existed and vitrification was incomplete. Here re-oxidation was possible and orange and brown colors could develop.

Various colors in the surface and interiors of relief dots are due to differing reactions in the firing of the pottery. According to the firing theory widely accepted so far, the atmosphere in the kiln that fired red-figure pottery changed from oxidation to reduction to oxidation again. If the reducing stage was too short to allow carbon monoxide to penetrate the relief dots, there was no reduction of iron compounds inside the relief dots. Fe^{III} compounds originally in the raw material would continue to exist, and some more could be formed in the following oxidizing stage. Interiors of relief dots would be red, orange or brown. Although the reducing stage was short, it was sufficient for black gloss to form on the dots' surface. This recalls Bimson's experiment (Bimson 1956), confirming that black gloss was formed in the early stage of the reducing period. Black gloss layer is impermeable and could again deter carbon monoxide coming inside relief dots. This made the interior reaction different from that on the surface.

The other way to produce orange and brown interiors concerns both reducing and oxidizing iron compounds. This involves carbon monoxide first penetrating relief dots, turning Fe^{III} compounds into those with Fe^{II}, such as magnetitie. Carbon monoxide was however insufficient, and unable to further reduce magnetite into wüstite (Bogdandy and Engell 1971, 18). Without this, the black gloss raw material could not fuse and remained porous. In the next oxidizing stage, magnetite and other Fe^{II} compounds contacted with oxygen and became Fe^{III} compounds again. Relief dots with orange or brown interiors indicate that the concentration of carbon monoxide was insufficient in the dots during the firing. The reducing stage was too short to generate wüstite, but the following oxidizing stage was sufficiently long for oxygen to fully permeate the relief dots.

Blackish interiors (Figures 4-5) are caused by black iron compounds containing Fe^{II}. These include magnetite, wüstite, and hercynite, formed when carbon monoxide reduced Fe^{III} compounds. There are three possibilities for blackish interiors. The first is a porous matrix. The atmosphere of carbon monoxide is weak in the interior of the relief dot. Some compounds with Fe^{II} are formed, such as magnetite, which however is not further reduced to wüstite. Without this, the matrix cannot fully vitrify and so remains porous. It will still retain its blackish color when the following oxidizing stage is short. Oxygen does not penetrate the dots and Fe^{II} compounds cannot be oxidized. The dots' interiors therefore remain blackish. The second possibility of a blackish interior is a sintered matrix. The reducing stage is longer than in the previous case, and so not only generates magnetite, but further reduces part of this to wüstite. The strong fluxing behaviour of wüstite causes significant vitrification, sealing other compounds with Fe^{II} in a sintered matrix. This prevents them from being oxidized in the later stages of firing, and the dots' interiors remain blackish until the present day. The third possibility of a blackish interior is a further sintered and amorphous material. It contains no magnetite because it is fully reduced to wüstite. This type of blackish interior is formed when abundant carbon monoxide penetrates the relief dots. As it is fully vitrified, the following oxidizing stage has no effect on it.

Blackish interiors are generated at the second stage of firing in a reducing atmosphere, which should be satisfactorily long, to supply sufficient carbon monoxide to permeate the relief dots. Otherwise, the interiors will remain red, orange or brown as the result of the first oxidizing stage. The third stage of firing in oxidizing atmosphere, is sometimes decisive for interior color. If the interiors turn blackish in a reducing atmosphere and are not melted, remaining porous, and the third stage in oxidizing atmosphere is too short, in the end the interiors will not be oxidized and will remain blackish. In contrast, if the oxidizing atmosphere at the third stage is long, it is possible to oxidize blackish materials in the interiors and turn them to red, orange or brown color. Interior colors of relief dots can provide information about the relative length and strength of the reducing and oxidizing atmospheres at the second and third stages of firing.

Conclusion

This study has investigated the material of relief dots on red-figure pottery, and concludes that relief dots were granules entirely consisting of black gloss material. It also deduces the firing procedure from phenomena of relief dots and confirms that black gloss could be easily produced in firing. The Greeks used this material and the technique over hundreds of years and spread them to places where the Greek civilization reached. Both the easy firing technique of black gloss and the lustrous effect of the product fulfil the ideal of technique that the Greeks sought. This should be feasible while precise. The black gloss technique was passed down generation after generation, and the products are among the most characteristic of ancient Greece. It recalls the conservative attitude of the Greeks, who did not usually change an existing tradition.

This paper demonstrated a set of phenomena of relief dots and concludes differently from Cohen (1997) in terms of the producing technique and procedure. It shows that relief dots were not clay reliefs painted over with a thin layer of black gloss, but granules entirely consisting of black gloss material. They turned black precisely within roundish areas as small as c. 0.2 to c. 2.0 mm in diameter, and those projecting from the edge of a black area show boundaries in neat arcs. Additionally, on a few vases, relief dots and the spaces in between are in different shades; the two are separate applications, disproving the theory that a single application of black gloss material was over the dots and the spaces. As the dots and the spaces normally refer to the same thing and are in the same or similar shades, it would be unnecessary to paint such small dots so precisely with a brush. The whole dots were made of black gloss material and turned black within their round areas.

The shades inside the relief dots indicate the various reactions of black gloss material, which is more complicated than Schumann (1942) suggests. The reduction of iron compounds has a few stages, and whether wüstite is generated or not, significantly affects the coloration of the relief dot. Various colors inside relief dots show that the firing was not precisely the same: the second stage of firing in reducing atmosphere, and the third in oxidizing atmosphere, each could differ in strength and duration. Flexible firing conditions made the pottery easy to produce. Black gloss was readily formed at the beginning of the reducing stage and was not affected by the following firing process. Meanwhile, the clay remained porous, and was responsive to oxygen and became reddish at the final oxidizing stage. As a result, pottery with figures in red color against a black background was formed.

The firing of red-figure pottery is considerably flexible, and this explains why the technique of this kind of pottery with red and black could be easily learned and spread. It was passed down from one generation to the next over three hundred years between the sixth and the third century BCE. In places where the Greek civilization reached, such as Athens and South Italy, archaeologists have found kiln sites, misfired and test pieces of the pottery, showing signs of the spread and function of the pottery technique. A large number of red-figure vases were continuously produced in three hundred years, and about 49,000 have been published. The wide spread of the pottery was partially due to the firing technique of black gloss, which was relatively feasible. Knowledge of the skill became known in more and more places through the expansion and colonization of the Greeks. This is supported by the current study on relief dots.

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Rome's Strategy against Parthia: Nero's Armenian War (54~63 CE) and The Treaty of Rhandeia[1]

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Abstract

This study re-investigates Nero's Armenian War of 54~63 CE and the Treaty of Rhandeia to highlight the geostrategic importance of Armenia in the context of the Roman strategy against Parthia. Firstly, I will summarize the old debate on the question whether there was the grand strategy on the part of the Roman Empire. Secondly, I will explain the processes of forcing the kingdom of Armenia to be situated in the contact zone (or the buffer zone) between the imperial powers of Rome and Parthia, and the crucial phases of Nero's Armenian War during the first century CE. Thirdly, I discuss the strategic intent to conclude the Treaty of Rhandeia in 63 CE, which was followed by the coronation of Tiridates I by Nero at Rome in 66 CE.

Since E. W. Luttwak's study on the Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire was published, one of the most controversial topics has been whether the Romans had an imperial strategy. There was a certain decision-making group in the Roman imperial court, who were able to 'establish' and 'maintain' a consistent strategy. The *primores civitatis* (foremost authorities of the state), the *consilium principis* (council of the princeps) in particular, acted as the closest advisers of the emperor at times of crucial decisions. Ultimately, it is probable that the military disposition, operation and logistics of the greater empires of Rome and Parthia, along with their frontier and foreign policies, were considered to have been relatively 'strategic' by people of the neighbouring kingdoms and tribal states. In 66 BCE, as the outcome of the Third Mithridatic War, the kingdom of Armenia was driven into the contact zone between the eastern frontier of Rome and the western frontier of Parthia, and therefore it first became to have the geostrategic importance in the Roman strategy facing against Parthia. Rome's foreign relations with Parthia, which had been unsecured after Crassus' defeat and fall at the battle of Carrhae in 53 BCE, were restored by Augustus' peace settlement in 20 BCE. The Armenian question was resolved with the agreement that the Roman emperor would appoint the king of Armenia whom the Parthian king of kings has recommended, but since then in practice the former would appoint the kings out of non-Armenian royal families while the latter often underwent civil wars of the Parthian

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succession. In 54 CE, the Parthian king of kings, Vologaeses I, raided Armenia and crowned his brother Tiridates I king of Armenia to take strategic superiority over the upper Euphrates. Nero decided to begin war against the Arsacid kings and appointed Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo as the *dux belli* (commander of war).

Corbulo conducted military operations based on the Roman strategy against Parthia. He strengthened the defence of the eastern provinces, restored hegemony over Armenia, and tried to evade a full-scale war with Parthia. However, the war became inevitable when Nero placed Lucius Caesennius Paetus in command to annex Armenia, which resulted in a serious defeat at Rhandeia in 62 CE. Nero afterwards sought advice from the *primores civitatis* and replaced Paetus with Corbulo who rectified the urgent situation and managed to draw up the Treaty of Rhandeia with the Arsacid kings in 63 CE. The main agreement of the Treaty was that the Roman emperor approves of a Parthian prince as king of Armenia, thereby Nero crowning Tiridates I at Rome. In 66 CE, Nero spent a huge budget on holding the clamorous coronation for a propaganda purpose.

From a strategic point of view, venturing into a full-scaled war to incorporate the kingdom of Armenia into a province of either Rome or Parthia was not a good solution to the Armenian question. The province of Armenia undoubtedly would have required much more human and material resources to control and defend the extended borderlands. It was strategically a better option for both Rome and Parthia to maintain Armenia as a buffer state situated in the contact zone between them. The Treaty of Rhandeia in 63 CE was the outcome of both considering their strategic interests. Thereafter, the peace lasted for fifty years until Trajan's Parthian campaigns, but the kernel of the Treaty that the Roman emperor approves of an Arsacid royal blood as king of Armenia was maintained until 252 CE when Shapur I of the Sassanid Persia annexed the kingdom.

Keywords: strategy, buffer state, borderland, Armenian war, Treaty of Rhandeia, *consilium principis, primores civitatis*, Nero, Corbulo, Arsacid Armenia, Tiridates I, Parthia, Vologases

Introduction

In 66 CE, Tiridates I of Armenia visited Rome, the capital city of the Roman Empire. His purpose of the visit was to receive the crown symbolizing the royal power of Armenia from Nero. When he arrived in Rome, Nero welcomed him in a fine manner and held a grand coronation. Since 54 CE, Tiridates, younger brother of the Parthian *šāhānšāh* Vologaeses I (51-78), had already been the king of Armenia in practice. However, his enthronement was a serious challenge to the authority of the Roman Empire, who claimed supremacy over the kingdom of Armenia against Parthia. As a result, the land of Armenia was exploited as a battlefield for Rome and Parthia for around 10 years. After going through glorious victories and crushing defeats, the two empires decided to sign a peace treaty in Rhandeia in 63 CE. The main provision of the treaty was to allow the Roman emperor to approve the candidate from the royal family of the Arsacid dynasty of Parthia to be the king of Armenia. Tiridates promised to visit Rome and receive the crown from Nero, which he carried out three years later. Thus, approved by both empires, the first Arsacid dynasty was officially established in Armenia. With the Treaty of Rhandeia and the subsequent visit of Tiridates I to Rome, the Roman-Parthian relations, involving conflicts and wars, met a decisive change.

After successfully conquering the Mediterranean region in the 1st century BCE, the only rival empire left for the Roman Empire was Parthia beyond the eastern frontier. For the Roman Empire to hold hegemony over Mesopotamia, it required a different strategic approach compared to those to the other frontiers, where tribal threats were relatively sporadic and less organised. The situation would have been the same for Parthia. Therefore, the competition between the two empires for sovereignty in the Mesopotamia appeared in an indirect way, of strengthening the influence over the small kingdoms in the borderlands, rather than directly forging military actions. In particular, control over the kingdom of Armenia served as a crucial indicator of power. The Treaty of Rhandeia in 63 CE was a significant event that set a new turning point in such matters. Nevertheless, the ‘Armenian question’ between Rome and Parthia in the academic field has received only little attention; and moreover, it was never dealt from the strategic point of view of a ‘buffer state.’[2]

The lack of research on the strategic approach to the Armenian kingdom can be explained by three main reasons. First, it is not an easy task to find cases where Roman historians deal specifically with Armenia in relation to the border policy. Second, there is academic scepticism about the ‘Strategy of the Roman Empire,’ or more precisely, the “Imperial defence strategy” itself. Third, the records of Armenian historians that can support these ideas are mostly ethnocentric and religious, which means that they are not reliable enough as the historical sources. In addition, the studies made by the modern Armenian scholars are also based on past records of those unreliable resources. However, a profound study of the Armenian kingdom is

[2] Rome’s Parthian policies were generally surveyed by F. G. B Millar and B. Campbell (Millar 1982: 1-23; 1993: 66-68, 99-105, 111-112, 437-481; Campbell 1993: 213-240). Campbell argues that from the Roman foreign policies any plans for strategic and organised control of Armenia as a buffer state are hardly found.

essential for a clearer understanding of the Roman-Parthian imperialistic rivalry and foreign relations. Plus, it is necessary to re-examine the Armenian kingdom from the perspective of a borderland or "contact zone" between the two empires, not simply perceiving it as the eastern border of the Roman Empire or the western border of the Parthian Empire. Therefore, this study will be conducted through the verification of Armenian sources and a suggestion of a new point of view.

Armenians produced their own writing system in the early 5th century, and Armenian Christians, such as Agathangelos, Moses of Khorene (Movsēs Xorenac'i) and Faustus (P'awstos), wrote histories of their own nation. Among them, Agathangelos and Faustus composed historical writings dealing with the 3rd century, while Moses was the only writer who told the history of Armenia from the beginning to the end of the 5th century, which allowed him to be referred as "the Father of Armenian History" or the "Herodotus of Armenia" (Chahin 304). The problem with Moses' work is that it contains virtually n information regarding the Roman-Parthian period. Since this period was the Apostolic Age, particularly important to Christian historians, there may be some narratives focused enthusiastically on the ecclesiastical history (Moses of Khorene 2.27-35). Therefore, it cannot be denied that the reconstruction of this period requires massive dependence on Roman sources. For example, Tacitus' *Annales*, which best describes Roman history in the 1st century, contains the most information about Nero's Armenian war. Dealing with the same period, the records of Suetonius and Cassius Dio are also essential to examine. By adding recent archaeological achievements and the research of current Armenian researchers (Hovannisian 1997; Bournountian 2002; Panossian 2006; Manandyan 2007; Soultanian 2012; Stepanyan and Minasyan 2013), it is possible to get closer to the truth of this history.

The purpose of this article is to reveal the position of Armenia in Rome's strategy against Parthia through Nero's Armenian War (54~63 CE) and the Treaty of Rhandeia in 63 CE that ended the war. First, it is necessary to briefly summarise the controversies over the question of "Did actual strategy exist in the Roman Empire? And if so, at what extent?" Only when this question is resolved, is it possible to move on to the next topic: the Armenian process of "bordering" or becoming the "buffering zone" between Rome and Parthia during the 1st century. Thirdly, the cause, procedure, and the result of Nero's Armenian war in the mid-1st century will be explained in detail. Finally, the strategic significance of the Treaty of Rhandeia in 63 CE, and the visit of Tiridates I to Rome in 66 CE will be discussed.

The Strategy of the Empire?

The question of whether an actual strategy existed in the Roman Empire has been actively discussed after the book *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire from The First to the Third Century AD* by E.W. Luttwak was first published in 1976. The book was a PhD thesis submitted in international relations at Johns Hopkins University a year before, and he described the 'Roman Empire's defence strategy' by dividing it into three periods: first, The Defence utilizing Client States and Mobile Armies of the Julio-Claudian dynasty from 27 BCE to 68 CE; second, The 'Scientific' Frontiers and Preclusive Defence of the Flavian-Antonine-Severan dynasties from 69 to 235 CE, and lastly, the 'Defence-in-Depth' strategy after the 3rd century. Luttwak argues that the Roman Empire had a so-called "Grand Strategy" to actively confront the changes in the situation in the frontier regions. Responses to his argument have varied in diversity: from a positive reaction which presumed a big wave in the academia to the negative view denoting the anachronistic idea of a non-major (E.W. Luttwak was economics major before international relations) that was not based on any historical records.

This non-specialist's assertion holds a solid position in the academia because, ironically, many scholars have participated in the debate by citing Luttwak and producing productive research outcomes. On the other hand, J. C. Mann, F. G. B. Millar, Benjamin Isaac, C. R. Whittaker, and B. Campbell are the representatives of opposition to his argument (Mann 1979: 175-183; Millar 1982: 1-23; Isaac 1992: 372-418; Whittaker 1994: 49-97; 1996: 25-41; Campbell 2002: 16-21). The main reason for their objection is the absence of a 'strategic decision-making group' that functioned as a type of 'Think-Tank,' which would have established the strategy of the empire and ensured its maintenance. Therefore, historical data in terms of planning and implementation following the strategic consideration is extremely scarce. It is said that the emperor himself or his close associates who would have made a strategic decision were mostly ignorant of military matters. Additionally, they neglected to accumulate information and knowledge about the geography and topography of the frontier, an essential condition for establishing a long-term defence strategy.

However, as the final decision-maker of the military *imperium*, the emperor was certainly not a stranger to the combat field. The emperors in the first three centuries, from Julius-Claudius to Severus (with the exception of Gaius, Claudius, Nero, and Domitian) had lived fully military careers in their youth. In fact, after the 3rd century, the era of military emperors was in place. Members of the emperor's *amici* or *comites* and the *consilium principis*, even the *praefectus praetorio*, *ab epistulis*, *a rationibus*, as well as the senators and *equites* who served as *legati* of the emperor (governors of provinces or military commanders of the frontiers) were aware of the military elements. Most of them served as a *tribunus laticlavius* for about a year in their early twenties, after which they had ample opportunities to pursue a career in the military. By building up the military achievements with the emperor's successor, they could accompany him on expeditions after he had successfully became emperor. These people acted as the "foremost authorities of the state (*primores civitatis*);" and they provided the emperor with the necessary military advice (Mattern 1999: 5-18). In terms of their knowledge and data-gathering abilities, of course, they cannot be compared to those of modern strategists working at the Pentagon and the RAND Corporation. On the other hand, however, it is also not convincing to conclude firmly that the *primores civitatis* are far inferior in terms of military knowledge or experience.

More importantly, it can be seen as a sort of an anachronism to judge the Roman Empire from our sense of strategic ability. The nation's strategic considerations involved avoiding war in peace, creating wartime resources, and encouraging people not to fight. The Romans provided the logically selected military forces with appropriate incentives and emphasised the advantages for social mobility through a military career. Plus, their regulations on abuse of soldiers' power, the construction of various infrastructures to mobilise the troops, and the creation of propaganda work that stresses the image of the military were the results of their strategy. As such, the operation and deployment of the armed forces that were witnessed in the frontier zones of the empire were no doubt 'strategic' (Ban 2015). Ultimately, the frontier and foreign policies of the great empires such as Rome and Parthia utilized military deployment, movement, and supply, which were both 'systematic and continuous' enough to be called a "Grand Strategy" unlike the standards of the other kingdoms or tribal states that existed in the peripheral area.

The Third Mithridatic War and Bordering of The Kingdom of Armenia

The Mithradatic War was the event that sparked the first clash between Rome and Armenia. At that time, the Kingdom of Armenia was in its heyday under the rule of Tigranes II, who would later be known as Tigranes the Great. The first thing Tigranes did when he came to power in 95 BCE was to annex Sophene in the western frontier and marry Cleopatra, the daughter of king Mithridates Eupator of Pontus. The marriage alliance of the two ambitious men is recorded by several Roman historians as a notable event in the eastern circumstances (Plut. *Vit. Luc.* 22.1; App. *Mith.* 21.104; Just. *Epit.* 38.3.1-2). Having the total control over the eastern front with a marriage alliance, Mithridates boldly expanded his powers westward, and in 93 BCE, with the aid of Tigranes, he conquered Cappadocia and enthroned his son Ariarathes IX as the king. However, when the king of Cappadocia, Ariobarzanes I fled to Rome, it became an opportunity for Rome to intervene in the event. The Roman Senate dispatched Sulla, the governor of the province of Cilicia, to fight and defeat the troops stationed in Cappadocia and temporarily restored Ariobarzanes I to the throne.

Meanwhile, Tigranes II had rapidly and dauntlessly expanded his power to the East and the South. Particularly in 90 BCE, he waged a war with Parthia, where he had been held as a hostage in the past and won a great victory to conquer Mesopotamia. Then, in 85 BCE, Tigranes began to use the Parthian title of "King of Kings" (*šāhānšāh*) to display his elevated status, and he conquered Northern Syria, Commagene, Cilicia, and Phoenicia. Though brief, the territory of his kingdom was expanded to the largest extent in Armenian history, from the eastern Mediterranean to the Caspian Sea. And, around 70 BCE, besides the old capital Artaxata, a new capital Tigranocerta was founded, which was named after the king himself (Movsēs Xorenac'i 1.30). Tigranes designed the new capital as a city where Greek and Parthian cultures were mutually active. It was accepted that he had inherited the concept of *homonoia* from Mithridates, an ardent follower of Alexander the Great (Manandyan 2007: 46-47). In particular, he forcibly displaced large numbers of Greeks from the newly occupied eastern Mediterranean

(Strab. 11.14.15; 12.2.9; Plut. *Vit. Luc.* 26.1). The process of forced migration is also well documented in the records of the Armenian historians: Moses and Faustus, who also reported the migration of Greeks to other cities besides Tigranocerta (Movsēs Xorenac'i 2.16, 19, 49, 65; 3.35; P'awstos 4.24, 55).

Along with the images of gods, Greek culture appears to have been brought to Armenia much earlier in its history (Movsēs Xorenac'i 2.12). The Greco-Armenian-Parthian cultural integration was a prolonged process, while the Roman Empire was quick, armed, and ready for invasion. Given that it was a surprise attack and the Tigranes' forces were absurdly exaggerated by the Roman historians (App. *Mith.* 12.84-85; Plut. *Vit. Luc.* 27.2; Eutr. 6.9), in 69 BCE, it would have been impossible for Lucius Licinius Lucullus might to take down Tigranocerta with his modest force if there had been no irregular collaborators from the city. In that context, testimony was made by Strabo and Plutarch that a large number of Greek actors who had been invited to the theatre made by Tigranes were now employed in a ceremony to celebrate the victory of Lucullus and returned to their hometown with travel expenses (Strab. 12.2.9; Plut. *Vit. Luc.* 29.4).

The Third Mithradatic War began in 74 BCE with Lucullus being actively involved. The war started when Mithridates protested against the bequest of the kingdom of Bithynia to Rome by their king Nicomedes IV. After the death of Sulla in 78 BCE, Rome became an arena for some ambitious senators. For them, the Third Mithridates War was a good opportunity to make their dreams come true (Plut. *Vit. Luc.* 5-6). As the Treaty of Dardanus in 78 BCE failed to end the Second Mithridates War, the pressure on the Roman army in Asia Minor was increasing, and Mithridates was keeping a close eye on Rome's movements. If Bithynia was incorporated into Rome, it would directly face the border with Pontus. Therefore, Mithridates and his troop marched swiftly into Bithynia but were defeated by Lucullus and Marcus Aurelius Cotta who had been sent by the Romans. Tragically, he fled to Armenia in 71 BCE after the defeat, sheltering himself in the kingdom of Tigranes II.

When Cotta returned to Rome in 70 BCE, Lucullus, who was in full charge of the East, sent a messenger to Tigranes to demand the exile Mithridates, but the king of Armenia refused to do so (Phot. *Bibl.* (Memnon) 224.31.2). According to Appianus, Lucullus deliberately sent a hint of reconciliation to conceal his invasive intention (App. *Mith.* 12.83-84). Moses added that Tigranes hurriedly came back from an expedition in Ptolemais in Phoenicia after hearing news of an attack by a thief named Vaykun, which probably refers to Lucullus (Moses Khorene 2.14; Manandyan 2007: 70). Anyway, Lucullus's invasion was successful, and Tigranes the Great, who was defeated at the battle of Tigranocerta in 69 BCE, fought a final battle along with Mithridates at Artaxata in 68 BCE, barely succeeding in stopping the Romans. As the war continued, Lucullus's army refused to advance further and showed signs of riot, so Rome summoned Lucullus back and dispatched another ambitious leader, Pompeius. He quickly defeated Mithridates and put pressure on Tigranes. Knowing that even Parthia in the east had made an aggressive move against Armenia, Tigranes realised that any further resistance was pointless and eventually made a peace treaty with Pompeius.

Tigranes II maintained a relatively neutral attitude throughout the Mithridates War. Despite this, Lucullus had pursued Mithridates and carried out an invasion on the Armenian mainland and the conquest by Pompeius followed, demonstrating the imperialistic determination of Rome. But, even in the Roman Senate, there were voices criticizing their war of aggression towards the other nations (Cic. *De imp. Cn. Pomp.* 23; Plut. *Vit. Luc*. 33.4). To the ambitious commanders who believed that their military achievement would support their political power, and to the soldiers who decided to be loyal to a capable commander who would take charge of their future rather than the Senate, these words by some senators were nothing but an empty cry. It is a well-known fact that this war of aggression brought Lucullus and Pompeius huge fortunes. And, as Plutarch rightly points out, it is very likely that the tragic fate Marcus Licinius Crassus, who was in charge of the Triumvirate, would face at Carrhae, also originated here (Plut. *Vit. Luc.* 36.7).

The Roman pursuit continued until Mithridates killed himself on the coast of the Black Sea. Then a peace treaty was signed between Pompeius and Tigranes II at Artaxata in 66 BCE. Tigranes was able to retain the throne for another 10 years in return for paying a considerable sum of compensation and continued to use the title of *šāhānšāh*. However, during the Mithridates War, as most of the small kingdoms located in minor Asia and Mesopotamia were absorbed and integrated into Rome and Parthia, the kingdom of Armenia consequently became a representative 'buffer state' located on the borderlands between Rome and Parthia.

Nero's Armenian War

The Armenian Artaxiad dynasty, which had reached its peak during the reign of Tigranes II, ended after King Tigranes IV in 2 BCE. After its fall, Augustus assigned Ariobarzanes from Media Atropatene as the new king of Armenia. Augustus renewed the relationship with Parthia in 20 BCE after he had seized power over Rome. He returned the Roman standards and war prisoners which were taken from Phraates IV of Partha in 53 BCE at the disgraceful defeat of Crassus at Carrhae. And he was given the authority to assign the Armenian king recommended by Parthia. These agreements were manipulated as a victory in Rome and widely advertised throughout the empire (*signis receptis* coins and *prima porta*; *Res Gestae* 29; Cass. Dio 54.8). The Augustan order was maintained even when he appointed Ariobarzanes as the king of Armenia. Afterwards, Roman emperors exercised the right to designate the Armenian kings, and they would find and appoint Roman-friendly candidates from Pontus, Judaea, or Iberia. Meanwhile, due to the unstable political situation, the Parthian *šāhānšāh* had to send their ambitious heirs to Rome as hostages beginning with the reign of Phrates IV (Strab. 16.1.28). It was not until 35 CE that the Parthian *šāhānšāh* Artabanus III temporarily tried to establish his eldest son, Arsaces, as king of Armenia but was thwarted by Tiberius's opposition and countermeasures. Instead, the king's brother, Mithridates, was appointed as the king of

Armenia (Tac. *Ann.* 6.31; Cass. Dio 58.26.3). Nonetheless, a prelude to war began in 51 CE when Rhadamistus, the son of the Iberian king Pharasmanes I, executed his uncle Mithridates and obtained the throne of Armenia.

The exact reason why Rhadamistus had suddenly yearned for the throne of Armenia remains unclear. Tacitus's explanation that Rhadamistus's innate aggressive tendencies were intentionally directed to Armenia by his father Parasmanes is not sufficient to support the truth (Tac. *Ann.* 12.44). Given the situation that his oldest son must have succeeded his own throne, it seems that Parasmanes had no other choice but to support his younger son's attention to the power outside his country. After being chased by Rhadamistus, Mithridates fled to the fortress of Gorneas, where Roman soldiers were garrisoned. The commander Caelius Pollio was obliged to protect the emperor-appointed king, but by accepting a bribe from Rhadamistus, he decided to remain as a spectator. The result turned out to be a parricide and the replacement of the Armenian throne. Seizing on this chaotic situation as an opportunity, Vologases I of Parthia invaded Armenia, and the fight escalated into a war between Rome and Parthia once again (Tac. *Ann.* 12.45-51). Vologases I was supported by the Armenian nobles, who at the time were tired of the rule of the Iberian royal family, and finally overthrew Rhadamistus in 54 CE and succeeded in replacing him with his brother Tiridates, crowning him as Tiridates I.

Rome's response to the Parthian provocation was firm and straightforward. Nero ordered the legions of the eastern provinces to replenish their forces and the client kingdoms of the eastern frontiers to prepare for a war (Tac. *Ann.* 13.7). Then he sent one of the best generals of his time, Corbulo, as governor and field commander (*dux belli*) of Galatia and Cappadocia (Syme 1970: 38-39). Corbulo joined with Ummidius Quadratus, governor of the province of Syria, and began preparing for the war. But surprisingly, the war did not break out for a while. In 55 CE, Tiridates suddenly repatriated the war prisoners and requested reconciliation (Tac. *Ann.* 13.37). The two sides seemingly reduced the tension and were ready for signing a peace treaty. Presumably, in the Roman camp, there must have been an atmosphere of victory without fighting. In the Sebasteion temple of Aphrodisias, a wealthy city in the province of Asia, Nero, in the shape of the war god Ares, was sculpted to take down the personified nation Armenia, along with the sculpture of Claudius who also overthrew Britannia (Smith pl. xiv; pl. xvi).

However, neither Nero nor Corbulo had any intention of ending the war in the first place. From 56 to 57 CE, Corbulo concentrated exclusively on gathering and training troops and then in 58 CE, taking advantage of the return of Vologases I to Parthia for settling domestic problems, quickly marched into Armenia to seize the city of Artaxata (Tac. *Ann.* 13.34-41; Cass. Dio 62.19.4). In 59 CE, he continued marching to the southwest and confirmed the capitulation of Tigranocerta. Throughout the war, Corbulo's side was able to receive military and logistical support from client kingdoms such as Commagene and Iberia. On the other hand, Tiridates, who could not expect any support from Vologases, was seriously deficient against their enemies. Eventually, in 60 CE, Tiridates decided to flee, and Nero appointed the heir of the Cappadocian and Herodian dynasties, Tigranes VI, as the new king of Armenia. After achieving these brilliant military achievements, Corbulo was promoted to be the governor of Syria as the successor of Quadratus (Tac. *Ann.* 14.26).

Rome and Armenia had expected that the war was still unfinished. And, war unexpectedly broke out in 61 CE when Tigranes VI, the king of Armenia, invaded Adiabene in the south. Tiridates I, who could not miss the opportunity, attempted to drive out Tigranes with the support of Vologases, but was immediately subdued by Corbulo's prompt defensive efforts (Tac. *Ann.* 15.3-5; Cass. Dio 62.20.2-3). The stalemate continued among the Parthian forces trying to conquer Tigranocerta and the Tigranes-Roman forces who had been besieged in the city. Corbulo, governor of the province of Syria, was prepared at the border region, waiting for a command from Rome. Nero, however, dispatched more troops with Lucius Caesennius Paetus as the field commander in order to ultimately merge the Armenian kingdom as a Roman province.

> But as Corbulo could not endure a rival, so Pætus, who would have been sufficiently honoured by ranking second to him, disparaged the results of the war, and said repeatedly that there had been no bloodshed or spoil, that the sieges of cities were sieges only in name, and that he would soon impose on the conquered tribute and laws and Roman administration, instead of the empty shadow of a king.
>
> *sed neque Corbulo aemuli patiens, et Paetus, cui satis ad gloriam erat, si proximus haberetur, despiciebat gesta, nihil caedis aut praedae, usurpatas nomine tenus urbium expugnationes dictitans: se tributa ac leges et pro umbra regis Romanum ius victis impositurum.* (Tac. *Ann.* 15.6).

Being aware of Corbulo's existence, it is highly unlikely that Paetus claimed Armenia as Roman province, because without the direct command of the emperor, it would have been impossible to do so. Paetus integrated the *legio IV Scythica* and *legio XII Fulminata* that were acquired from Corbulo to the *legio V Macedonica* and the rest of the auxiliary units recruited from Pontus, Galatia, and Cappadocia. According to Tacitus' explanation that the Roman army consistently operated auxiliaries that were in similar size to a legion (Tac. *Ann.* 4.5; 13.8), the estimated number of personnel would have been around 30,000. If Corbulo's *legio III Gallica, VI Ferrata, X Pretensis* and his other auxiliary troops had joined in, the number of men would have been around 1/5 of the entire imperial army (Ban 2015: 28-29, table 1). The only problem was Paetus's poor leadership as the commander of the army. 62 CE was when Paetus's army was ceased by the force of Vologases at Arsamosata, subsequently being nearly annihilated with the bloodshed in Rhandeia (Tac. *Ann.* 15.10-15; Cass. Dio 62.21.1-4).[3]

[3] A. Stepanyan and L. Minasyan argue that the defeat was as disgraceful as that by the Samnite in 321 BCE (Stepanyan and Minasyan 2013: 20-22).

Vologases I would not have intended an all-out war with Rome because the Parthian *šāhānšāh* chose appeasement rather than a hard-line policy, due to their winning. Instead of taking the momentum into a military expedition, he wrote a letter to Nero. The letter first emphasised his generosity against Paetus and his lost legions and then explained that Tiridates would visit Rome to receive the crown "were he not detained by the scruples attaching to his priesthood (*nisi sacerdotii religione attineretur*)". Prior his visit, he would visit Nero's standard and statue that were in the headquarters of the Roman garrison, and then would begin his enthronement with the legionaries in attendance (Tac. *Ann.* 15.24). Given a provisory clause, it is insinuated that Vologases's side had a clear advantage in the negotiations. Aware of the situation, Nero, who suffered failure due to the defeat of Paetus, was forced to carefully take his approach to the Armenian question. At the crossroads between peace and war, Nero chose an honourable war over a disgraceful peace as the result of discussions with the "*primores civitatis*":

> Then was perceived the mockery of the barbarians in petitioning for what they had wrested from us, and Nero consulted with the chief men of the State whether they should accept a dangerous war or a disgraceful peace. There was no hesitation about war. Corbulo, who had known our soldiers and the enemy for so many years, was appointed to conduct it, that there might be no more blunders through any other officer's incapacity; for people were utterly disgusted with Pætus.
>
> *tum intellecto barbarorum inrisu, qui peterent quod eripuerant, consuluit inter primores civitatis Nero, bellum anceps an pax inho[ne]sta placeret. nec dubitatum de bello. et Corbulo militum atque hostium tot per annos gnarus gerendae rei praeficitur, ne cuius alterius inscitia rursum peccaretur, quia Paeti piguerat.* (Tac. *Ann.* 15.25)

Corbulo, who was once again appointed as field commander by Nero in 63 CE, eventually acted as the resolver. He first replenished the spirits of the Roman army and reinforced his forces, transforming them into a formidable power. When Vologases I and Tiridates I sent envoys to negotiate, Corbulo sent them back with his centurions to deliver the Roman message. He first advised Tiridates to end the war before the kingdom suffers the ravages of war, and admonished Vologases to form an alliance with Rome for the safety of the Parthians before any harm is incurred to either side. Moreover, Corbulo also advised that it was possible for the Roman emperor to continue the war, while the Parthian *šāhānšāh* could not do so, so that the latter rather unite its own people (Tac. *Ann.* 15.27; Cass. Dio 62.23.1). The atmosphere for the negotiation was quite different from the previous one in Rome. Through his military action of menacing the borderlands between the Roman Empire and the kingdom of Armenia, Corbulo made it clear that his message was not just words. Finally, Vologases decided to end the war, and Tiridates signed a peace treaty at Rhandeia, his formerly victorious battlefield. Surprisingly, Corbulo was not dissatisfied with the location of the peace treaty, Rhandeia, which totally would not be weird if he did. According to Cassius Dio, now that they the two sides were in different positions, he expected that it would be an opportunity for the soldiers to take away the shame of the past that they had experienced on the battleground (Cass. Dio 62.23.2).

The Significance of the Treaty of Rhandeia

The Treaty of Rhandeia signed between Rome and Parthia in 63 CE and the following visit of Tiridates I to Rome for the implementation of the treaty was one of the most impressive diplomatic scenes in ancient history. As described earlier, Paetus was defeated at the level of battle, but in the war itself, due to Corbulo's interruption, there was neither an absolute winner nor a loser. And, presumably, as a result, this stalemate opened the window for both sides to discuss the peace treaty. One interesting fact is that from this point on, Vologases I becomes more passive in his actions. As the Romans claim, Corbulo's threat may have worked, or Parthia's internal problems may have caused trouble again. However, it is more plausible to argue that Parthia's purpose had already been achieved. Initially, the intention of Parthia was to make Armenia, located on the borderland with Rome, a pro-Parthian 'buffer state.' Eventually, no matter what the process, now that Vologases had succeeded in crowning his brother Tyridates I as the king of Armenia, the initial goal was completely achieved.

Negotiations at Rhandeia proceeded as follows (Tac. *Ann.* 15.28-29; Cass. Dio 62.23.2-4). With mounted soldiers from both sides lined up straight, Corbulo and Tiridates I descended from their horses and held hands in front of Tiridates's barrack. Corbulo highly praised Tiridates for restraining risky adventures and choosing a path that is both safe and beneficial to the kingdom. Tiridates I promised that he would place a token of allegiance in front of Nero's statue. He then further emphasised that it will surely be returned on to his hand by Nero. After discussing about the future, the two men ended the meeting with a kiss. A few days after, Tiridates visited the Roman barrack again. This time, with Roman legionaries and mounted soldiers lined up on either side, Tiridates walked to the statue of Nero and officially put his crown down. The crown that he put down was a diadem, which he had received from Vologases in 61 CE to represent his external kingship. Additionally, the other crown tiara symbolises the highest authority in Armenia and was presented at the council of Armenian nobles in 54 CE (Stepanyan and Minasyan 27). Finally, the ceremony ended with a grand banquet.

The peace treaty between Rome and Armenia reached a climax three years later in 66 CE, when Tiridates I arrived in Rome to enforce the treaty. Tiridates purposely travelled a total of nine months (Cass. Dio 63.2.1), which would have taken only one month if traveling quickly by sea and four months by land (measured in http://orbis.stanford.edu). It was a grand and extravagant procession like a triumphal ceremony, accompanied by 3,000 Parthian cavalry and equivalent Roman soldiers, costing 800,000 sestertii a day (Cass. Dio 63.1.2-2.2. cf. Plin. *HN* 30.16). If the annual income of the Roman Empire was approximately 2 billion sestertii (Scheidel and Friesen 73-74), it can be said that about 11% of the budget was spent for the trip, added to which would also have been the cost of staying in Rome and returning to Armenia. Nero went all the way to Naples to greet Tiridates and the others, and treated him with great hospitality during his stay in Rome. It was recorded that around 200 million sestertius was spent on the gifts alone (Cass. Dio 63.6.5). The coronation of Tiridates was held in a grand way with the presence of a large crowd. Though secured to its sheath, with the sword still intact, Tiridates knelt down before Nero and took back the diadem he had previously laid down in Corbulo's barrack (Tac. *Ann.* 15.31; Suet. *Ner*. 13.2; Cass. Dio 63.2.4). Afterwards, Nero generously held a banquet and even played the lyre by his own hand.

It remains unclear why Nero had paid so much effort and money to Tiridates I's visit to Rome. However, some emperors in the past had deliberately exposed foreign ambassadors to the public, making them the victim of their own political propaganda. Augustus had placed the hostages from Parthia in the arena so that they were portrayed like exotic animals, and Claudius had also used the envoys from Parthia and Armenia for a similar purpose (Suet. *Aug.* 43.4; *Claud*. 25.4). It was highly possible that Tiridates, who visited Rome in 66 CE, was also designed to be considered, in Tacitus' words, "merely for show for peoples no less than a captive (*ostentui gentibus quanto minus quam captivum*)" (Tac. *Ann.* 15.29, 31). About 170 years later, Cassius Dio regarded Nero's 'pretentious ceremony' as "disgraceful (*αἰσχρός*)" and consistently criticised his action, while praising Corbulo's achievements on the other hand (Cass. Dio 63.1.1-7.1). As a close aide to Severus Alexander who had to support the Persian expedition in 231-233 CE, Cassius would have had no other choice but to comment in such manner.

In any case, the Treaty of Rhandeia was a remarkable achievement. Some of the children of Tiridates I and Vologases I were sent to Rome as hostages (Tac. *Ann*. 15.30; Cass. Dio 62.23.4). After returning to Armenia, Tiridates rebuilt the destroyed city of Artaxata with Nero's financial aid, renaming it Neronia (Cass. Dio 63.6.5-6, 7.2). The biggest achievement above all was the settlement of the war situation, which has lasted for about ten years from 54 to 63 CE. Peace came among Rome, Armenia, and Parthia, with the gates of the Temple of Janus firmly shut (Suet. *Ner.* 13.2; *RIC* I 263-267, 269-271, 284, 287, 289, 291, 300, 302, 304, 306-309, 323-324, 326, 337, 339, 342, 347-351, 353-354, 362, 366 (http://www.ancientcoins,ca/RIC/index.htm). The peace on the frontline, which was finally settled by the Treaty of Rhandeia, was maintained for more than 50 years. It was not until Trajan had invaded Parthia in 116 CE, forcibly binding Armenia and made it a province. Furthermore, even after Nero's death and the outbreak of civil war in Rome, Parthia hardly intervened. Although no king was actually crowned in Rome since Tiridates I, the Roman emperor still had to approve the successor of Armenian throne from the Arsacid royal family chosen by the Parthian *šāhānšāh*. In other words, the Arsacid royal family who did not gain the Roman emperor's approval was disallowed to be enthroned. This great principle of the Treaty of Rhandeia, which is that one cannot become king of Armenia without the permission of the Roman Emperor, was upheld until the annexation of Armenia by Shapur I (Šāpur I) of Sassanid Persia in the year 252 CE.

Conclusion

In 66 BCE, as the result of the Third Mithridatic War, the Kingdom of Armenia was forcibly placed on the borderlands between the eastern frontier of Rome and the western frontier of Parthia. Therefore, Armenia later became extremely crucial geopolitically in Rome's strategy against Parthia. After the failure of Crassus' expedition to Parthia in 53 BCE, relations between the two nations were restored by Augustus in 20 BCE. The Armenian question was resolved in the form of Rome appointing the candidates for the Armenian throne recommended by Parthia, but in practice, the Roman emperor had deliberately appointed the pro-Roman members from the surroundings of the royal family of Armenia. Being unable to grasp the opportunity due to the frequent quarrels regarding the succession to the throne, Parthia attempted to gain a strategic superiority in 54 CE by abruptly placing Tiridates I of the same Arsacid dynasty on the Armenian throne. Thereafter, as Nero decided to dispatch Corbulo, the Armenian War began.

Corbulo's operation was reflecting the strategic approach of Rome. All-out war with Parthia was strategically avoided, but re-defending of the eastern provinces and regaining of Roman dominance in Armenia was accomplished. Regardless, an all-out war became inevitable as Nero, obsessed with victory, replaced his commander to Paetus and attempted to annex Armenia. The result came out as a painful failure/defeat at Rhandeia in 62 CE. The following year, Corbulo, whom Nero gave the command again after consulting with the *primores civitatis*, took control of the situation and led to the Treaty of Rhandeia with Parthia. The main contents of the treaty were to allow the Roman Emperors to approve the members of Arsacid royal family recommended by the Parthians as kings of Armenia in the future, plus the coronation of Tiridates I in Rome under Nero's supervision. In 66 CE, Nero bestowed the crown on Tiridates I on a visit to Rome, spending a tremendous amount of wealth on the pretentious ceremony.

It was not strategically the right choice for both sides to crash a war to completely annex Armenia, since it was certainly obscure of whether the revenues to be reaped from making Armenia a province would be high enough to cover the expenses of running the province, stationing an army, and constantly fighting wars. If Armenia was made into a province, the borderlands would be greatly expanded and the defence of the frontier would be increasingly challenging. The Kingdom of Armenia had greater strategic value when it remained as a 'buffer state'. The Treaty of Rhandeia was the result of the coinciding alignment of strategic interests between the two parties. Peace was maintained for nearly 50 years until Trajan's Parthian War. The great principle of the Treaty of Rhandeia, which to appoint the royal family of Arsaces as king of Armenia by Roman Emperors, was not broken until the annexation of the Kingdom of Armenia by Shapur I of Sassanid Persia in 252 CE.

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Liu Wei 刘玮. *Gongyi yu sili: Yalishidoude shijian zhexue yanjiu* 公益与私利：亚里士多德实践哲学研究 (*Common Good and Private Good: A Study of Aristotle's Practical Philosophy*). Peking University Press, 2019.

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Within the context of conflicts and instability, there emerged in classical Greece a number of city states (*poleis*, plural form of *polis*) and long duration of internecine wars, both civil and between polities. To seek secured protection and orderly life, the ancient Greeks naturally took shelter in the fortified city states. Among the prominent city states strategic alliances were formed, beaconing the modern concepts of politics and diplomacy. Basically the relationship among the allies was for mutual benefits rather than on moral grounds, so that friendship and enmity were reversible and convertible. Under the umbrella of the polis, people vested their well-being as well as that of their close and loved ones and the common interest of the city states that they lived in. As such, the independence of the polis, freedom, self-determination and security of that citadel formed the holistic or rather fundamental concerns of public interest which in turn contributed to the private interest.

Private interest and its public counterparts thus entangled most Greeks' daily life, generating tension and more often conflicts. To the Athenians who had established a major polis, the issues of private good (私利 *sili*) and common good (公益 *gongyi*) witnessed a core concern of political philosophy of their time. The book to be reviewed, *Gongyi yu Sili*, written in simplified Chinese characters, sets out to investigate how Aristotle looks at the forementioned crucial issues and how he resolves the agenda. In fact, Aristotle was not the only person who attempts to deal with the contention between private and common good. Among ancient Greek thinkers, many have either asserted to deploy rhetoric or legislation to resolve the tension between private good and common good in order to formulate a democratic community for a good life. Rhetoric essentially works to exercise persuasion as a technology in public addresses whereas legislation forms the enforcement basis of a political community. Persuasion and enforcement thus generally become interchangeable words for the actual application of rhetoric and legislation.

To comprise these two domains, Liu's book consists of two parts. Part I (Chapters One to Four) illustrates the backdrop of Aristotle's thinking and Part II (Chapters Five to Ten) addresses Aristotle's resolutions to the conflicts between the public good and private good, good meaning essentially a good life.

The book's background narrative starts with Gorgias of Leontini's (483-375 BC) pre-Socratic pedagogy of rhetoric. Its impact is felt during the Peloponnesian Wars (431-404 BC), with Pericles (c. 495-429 BC) and Alcibiades (450-404 BC) as spiritual protégés to carry out the political practicum of rhetoric. Yet the two generals did not match up entirely to Gorgias's original intention of exercising rhetoric to realize citizens' common good. Then came Plato (c. 428-348 BC) to rebuke the lavish and dishonest rhetoric which when manipulated would have ruined Athens' political arena. Plato continues to pinpoint the limitations of rhetoric in his *The Republic* and condemns rhetorical devices as pseudo-technology. Here it would have been better if Liu somehow had elaborated on or explained earlier his meaning of technology rather than later in the book, namely that it is something not only derived from people's natural gift of endowment or habits, to compose or organize speech at will, but also to proceed investigation according to definite paths (110). Such an important word that governs Gorgias and Plato's arguments would preferably have been defined early at the beginning chapter. It would have been even illuminating though not necessary to cite in a footnote or a passing statement Foucault's use of the term being indebted to the ancient Greeks. Foucault's technology grants that individuals can effect certain operations on their own bodies, minds, souls, and lifestyle, so as to attain a certain quality of life or state of happiness. The ancient Greeks' cultural legacy is obvious, and this kind of relevant sideline would certainly make the book more comprehensive in terms of the longevity of such ideas.

Part II begins with chapters five and six, two significant chapters to assert the stand of Aristotle manifesting his divergence and convergence with his predecessors. Gorgias' devotion to the art and technology of persuasion, emphasizing the effectiveness of rhetoric on human affection and pathos presents a strong thesis of the time. On the other hand, Plato asserts the importance of rationality and not emotionality; hence justice at the expense of individual's emotions. Justice is at the heart of legislation that confines a polis within manageable bounds. For that matter, Plato promotes the idea of a philosopher-king while banishing poets from his Republic. Basically, Liu echoes with other critics that Plato's view is pessimistic because none of the components of men is truly happy in the polis with the depressing rationality that probably will sacrifice individual's desires. Liu points out that Plato's discussion of psyche is too mechanical by dividing it into three strata, i.e., the rational, affectional/pathetic, and the concupiscent (106). But his appraisal claiming that Aristotle's is more practical and balanced has not been substantiated enough to be self-evident. Nevertheless, in demonstrating Plato's rectification of the "corrupted" city-state politics, Liu implies that Plato actually presents an antithesis to Gorgias's thesis. Both philosophers, however, intend to make life in the city-state a good and happy one.

Gorgias may be naïve in the views of Plato, yet Aristotle doesn't find the former ineffective though insufficient. Else, Aristotle does not concur to his teacher Plato's conviction to make legislation the ultimate solution to the dilemma between common good and private good. He realizes the internal limitations of enforcing legislation. City-state politics based simply on law enforcement will become dangerous to families. Accommodation for the individuals will help the polis to gain and stick to humanity. At the same time, Aristotle conceives that common good should not indulge citizens to maximize their private interests without restraints. In fact, what Plato and Aristotle seek after is the highest good (*eudaimonia*), often translated as happiness. But Plato and Aristotle use drastically different approaches. The latter sees the importance of Nature and things natural. Thereby, Aristotle modifies Gorgias and rectifies the stringency of Plato, with a moral fiber in his assertion of persuasion, helping people to attain correct thinking toward the most appropriate emotional direction. He does see the necessity of politics to build a city of beauty (*kallipolis*) as Plato would have liked to construct. For that cause, he applies dialectics to deal with the issues trailing down by Gorgias and other rhetoricians as well as Plato and the legalists. Simply put, targeting on Gorgias' thesis and Plato's antithesis, Aristotle comes up with a synthesis containing proper modifications and balanced precepts. Like in the note on "technology," Liu at length provides a clear notion of what dialectics is when he later points out the generality of rhetoric and dialectic that differ from other technologies or sciences (110-111). Such an explanatory note on dialectics should be placed earlier, best at the first time when the keyword appears. This would reduce unnecessary puzzling over the nature of the crucial terms. Anyways, Liu explicates the function of dialectics is to induce to the first principle of science. However, Aristotle never clearly explains how dialectics can attain that goal (75). Ironically, one of the findings of Liu in Aristotle is that the philosopher did not give an exemplary demonstration of how dialectics can derive the first principle of science.

Though without showing the procedure of dialectal synthesis, the author further analyzes the shortcomings or rather the limited application of Aristotle's assumption, that is, the ideal function of rhetoric depends on the moral fiber or the virtue of the rhetoricians and not on rhetoric itself. This is where Aristotle perceives the powerlessness of rhetoric. On the other hand, ethical persuasion also has its limitation and that is why legislation must come into play. For that, Aristotle is more thorough than Plato in reconciling the public and private good, or rather a unison of the two to resolve their conflicting tension. Politics and legislation are to be engaged to guarantee a good city state life. Building on Plato's overarching justice, Aristotle refines justice to contribute to a political community that involves legitimate justice and special justice, the latter of which includes distributive justice, corrective justice and exchangeable justice forming general justice and is named by Aristotle as the "complete virtue" (147). It is complete because its meaning includes its relationship with other people making the laws of a polis stipulating the values of the city state and are recognized as virtues. This is the context wherein Aristotle claims that man is a political animal. Though he does not discuss or critique Plato's notion of philosopher-king, he details the nature of virtue, particularly in his *Nicomachean Ethics*. One of the captions as cited and translated by Liu in highlighting the practice of ethical politics by the wise and the virtuous is the recognition that "surpassing virtue changes men into gods, the disposition opposed to Bestiality will clearly be some quality more than human" (*Nic. Eth*. 7.1.2).

Of more general interest among the analyses and explications in the book, or rather common interest not only to philosopher but humanist readers in general, is the discussion that man is not only a political animal but also a family animal (101). Gorgias as well as Plato have shown that man indeed is socially oriented and tends to be gregarious in seeking a good life. But only in Aristotle do we see a balanced life in that there is the need for public life as well as private life and man tends to seek for understanding, desires and affection (107). Hence, annihilation of families to build up a city state is disastrous for which Aristotle indirectly rebukes his predecessors including Plato.

Though the English subtitle of the book bears the label "Aristotle's Practical Philosophy," little is provided to demonstrate how those "practical" aspects work. What is given in the discussion are rather the principles and the general bearings of Aristotle's concepts. In fact, a major portion of them are disputing or adjudicating previous philosophers' opinions, in particular, modifications of Plato's assertions.

Despite this claim and its restrictive application, overall, this book provides a good general introduction to Aristotle's views on politics, ethics, rhetoric, law and other topics (topoi), focusing on the interplay between common good and private good. Consolidating much information on the benign circle of rhetoric and legislation in ancient Greece, Liu has explained aspects of these fields dynamically and with a good sense of judgment. All in all, despite the rather dry narrative, a book written in Chinese that encapsulates contentions of ancient Greece is rare and is commendable.

Minor errors, typos and deficiencies are randomly noted as follows: 1. 阴性的灵魂 (psyche, 15); though the Greek original is quoted with an explanatory footnote to indicate the gender of the word but that is not sufficient. Will subsequent application of the term 灵魂 be consistently feminine in gender or is this interchangeable with a masculine version of it? Does this psyche share the same hermeneutic nuance with the English word "soul" which is more likely to be understood when translated into the Chinese term 灵魂? Such lexical complexity should be discussed or further cautioned in the footnote. 2. First appearance of proper names are generally followed by their Greek original after the Chinese transliteration in the book. However, they are rarely affixed with life dates. It will help readers to conceptualize and historicize major events, characters and works if their dates are given. 3. For Chinese readers who do not read classical Greek, quoting the Greek original after the Chinese translation will not help. It is suggested that for crucial terms, aside from the Greek original, an English translation can be given, at least placing it in the footnote since English is a common foreign language among educated readers. The Harvard University Loeb Classical Library texts could easily be used for this purpose. 4. The bibliographical format of the reference section should be reorganized. Primary sources and secondary literature can be separated while journal articles and book chapters need to be properly configured. 5. Granted that the book has no index, it would help readers tremendously to have a glossary of technical terms with which they can refer to and refresh their memory of unfamiliar expressions throughout the book.

Yan Shaoxiang. *Xila yu luoma: guoqu yu xianzai* 希腊与罗马: 过去与现在 (*Greece and Rome: Past and Present*). Commercial Press, 2019.

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Yan Shaoxiang is one of most prominent scholars of Greco-Roman antiquity in China today. Since 2007 he has been based in the Department of History at Capital Normal University and has published numerous monographs and articles on diverse aspects of Greco-Roman history. He has also translated into Chinese numerous works of Western scholarship on classical antiquity and its reception, including Jenkyns' *The Legacy of Rome*, Finley's *Politics in the Ancient World*, and Lintott's *The Constitution of the Roman Republic*. In recognition of his contribution to Chinese scholarship, in 2016 Yan was bestowed the Changjiang Scholar award, which is one of the most prestigious honours in Chinese academia.

Published by the Commercial Press in 2019, *Xila yu luoma: guoqu yu xianzai* 希腊与罗马：过去与现在 (*Greece and Rome: Past and Present*) is an anthology of nineteen articles concerning Greco-Roman political philosophy, its reception in Western intellectual history, and modern scholarship on Greco-Roman antiquity. Covering articles dated from 2003 to 2019, it is a testament to Yan's prolific engagement with Western scholarship. Its premise is that Greco-Roman antiquity remains a powerful influence in Western thinking, serving as a mirror for contemporary problems and debates. Yan is well aware of the limitations of history as a guide. He goes beyond the Florentine historian Francesco Guicciardini to argue that even if similar conditions are met, history will not repeat itself because of free will. Yet classical concepts such as the "Thucydides' trap" continue to inform decision-making. Although most of the articles were written well before the current diplomatic tensions between China and the United States, Yan's rigorous analysis of classical, medieval, Renaissance and modern debates on the relative merits and pitfalls of democracy and oligarchy, symbolised by Athens and Sparta respectively, foreshadows some of the current polemics between the two superpowers. Yan's book helps the reader understand that many of the icons of the Western intellectual tradition, such as Thucydides, Plato and Aristotle, were suspicious of democracy and that the representative democracy prevailing in the West today is far removed from its Athenian prototype. How democracy was appraised in different time periods changed according to historical contingencies.

The first section of this book consists of seven chapters revisiting ancient and modern debates on the Spartan, Athenian and Roman political systems. The two opening chapters, "Between the ideal and despotism: the problem of Athenian democracy in ancient thought" (理想与暴政之间：古典思想中的雅典民主问题) and "The Spartan Illusion in Antiquity and Today" (斯巴达的幻想：古代与现代), constitute the bulk of this section, and are also by far the lengthiest articles in the entire book. The other five chapters in this section touch upon a rich array of topics, such as Thucydides' critical appraisal of Athenian democracy, Greek attempts to check the scourge of bribery, the early modern reception of Greco-Roman democracy, and Montesquieu's views on ancient republicanism. In these chapters, Yan seeks to demonstrate how both ancient and modern interpretation of Greco-Roman political philosophy was not conducted in a vacuum, but was intricately tied to the context in which scholars and historians worked.

In the second section of this book, Yan turns his attention to a survey of 19th and 20th century scholars working on Greco-Roman antiquity and assesses their contribution to our knowledge and their limitations in light of more recent research. This section reveals the breadth of Yan's reading, covering scholars such as Moses Finley, J.B. Bury, Arnaldo Momigliano, N. G. L. Hammond and Jean-Pierre Vernant. As many of the works discussed in this section are not available in Chinese translation, this section would be of particular interest to Chinese scholars who do not have the linguistic facility to access the original sources or are in need of a contextual overview of the history of modern Western scholarship on the classics.

The third and final section of the book would interest readers outside China because they contain Yan's reflections on the significance of translation for understanding the classical world both in Western and, above all, Chinese scholarship. Here Yan surveys the development of scholarly translation in West from Renaissance times and provides interesting insights into the development of attempts to convey Greco-Roman classical traditions to Chinese audiences. Yan discusses how in the beginning Chinese translations focused on the major Western works of ancient history and then in the 1950s and 60s more of the original Greco-Roman source texts were translated, including the writings of Thucydides, Herodotus, Aristotle, Xenophon and Tacitus. Yan is highly conscious of the limitations of these Chinese translations: they are almost always translated from modern Western languages (especially English). Translation activity basically ceased during the Cultural Revolution, but since the Opening Up in the 1980s, it has been conducted much more systematically, thanks in part to the efforts of the Commercial Press.

For Yan, translation is a double-edged sword. Chinese scholars need translation to access Greco-Roman texts and stay abreast of Western scholarship. In the past, Chinese scholars referred to Soviet primers on Greco-Roman antiquity, which kept Chinese scholarship in a state of stagnation. For this reason, a lot of ignorance about classical antiquity remains in China: there is little reference to classical antiquity in Chinese high school and university textbooks, and little understanding of its complex reception in the West. Translation plays a pivotal role in removing these barriers. However, translation cannot replace the rigorous study of classical and modern Western languages. It is difficult for the Chinese language to convey the nuances of the Homeric hexameter, and reliance on translated scholarship ensures that Chinese scholarship will always be behind the times: in the time it takes to publish a translation, the central thesis of a book might already be outdated.

Yan's anthology is primarily aimed at a Chinese readership and hence there is little attempt to make it accessible to Western audiences by providing Western-language transliterations of the historical figures, authors or scholars discussed. Of course, for some famous figures such as Cicero (西塞罗) or Homer (荷马), a Western-language equivalent is plainly not necessary; however, for minor figures, where there is no standard transliteration, the lack of the Western-language equivalent can make it difficult to work out who Yan is talking about. Sometimes, Yan's transliterations even deviate from the standard. For instance, Yan transliterates Menelaus as 麦涅拉俄斯, but the standard transliteration is 墨涅拉俄斯; Tyrtaeus is transliterated as 提尔泰 whereas the online encyclopedias use 提尔泰奥斯. While the author is free to use his own transliterations, having the Greek original or the English name side by side would have improved clarity and comprehension.

Another annoying feature of the book is that Yan seldom follows conventional citation methods for classical works. As a courtesy to the Chinese reader, Yan cites Chinese-language editions where available, but he includes only the page number. The lack of references to book, chapter and line numbers makes it very difficult for readers to cross-reference to other translations or indeed the original text.

From the opening of the anthology, Yan makes clear that one of his goals is to present Western-scholarship to Chinese audiences. While this goal is laudable, in some chapters greater attempt could have been made to present Western scholarship more synthetically. For instance, chapter one follows very closely Jennifer Roberts' *Athens on Trial* whereas chapter two is essentially a summary of Elizabeth Rawson's *The Spartan Tradition in European Thought.* Rawson's work is cited on most pages, and in sequential order as well. In fact, most of the sources that Yan discusses can be found in Rawson's book. Even the occasional subtitle seems to have been lifted: "Laconism Exported" in Rawson's original becomes "斯巴达传统的出口" (p. 87).

At times, Yan seems to misrepresent the sources he is paraphrasing. Under the title "Laconism Exported", for instance, Rawson writes "It's is time to look beyond the confines of the Greek world." Rawson is simply inviting the reader to consider parallels that were drawn by Greeks such as Herodotus between Spartan governance and Egypt. However, Yan places under his heading "斯巴达传统的出口" the rather remarkable claim, "希腊文化开始与东方文化融合，希腊人也开始认识到，他们传统的疆域之外，还存在许多非希腊的民族和文化，眼界大为开阔"（p. 88). Of course, the age of Hellenism expanded the Greeks' worldview, but it simply does not stand to reason that only after the Macedonian invasion did the Greeks start to notice non-Greeks.

Similar problems reveal themselves in other sections. For instance, when dealing with the reception of Sparta in the medieval period, Yan follows Rawson in having a brief discussion of Thomas Aquinas. Rawson's text shows that while Aquinas objected to the dual kingship of Sparta, he was broadly in favour of the ideals of the mixed constitution as exemplified by the Spartan constitution. However, Yan states "不过阿奎纳对这种混合政体好像没有多少好感", and cites a passage (difficult to identify because Yan does not provide the customary section numbers of Aquinas' works) indicating Aquinas' support for monarchy. The author seems to have confused Aquinas' support for monarchy as a critique of mixed constitution, not recognising the fact that monarchy can be part of a mixed constitution.

Overall, *Xila yu luoma* provides valuable insights into the development of Classical Studies in China. It is most unfortunate that this work, like much other Chinese-language scholarship, is inaccessible to the vast majority of Western scholars working on Greco-Roman antiquity. Scholarly engagement between China and the West should be bidirectional. As it is unrealistic to expect Western classicists to learn Chinese, translation will continue to play a pivotal role in facilitating this exchange.

From Constantinople to Chang'an: Byzantine Gold Coins in the World of Late Antiquity.

Edited by Sven Günther, Li Qiang, Lin Ying and Claudia Sode,
Institute for the Study of Ancient Civilizations, 2021.

Reviewed by Michael Skupin, emeritus,
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Our Daily "Bread"

The infusion of cold, hard cash is certain to upset any status quo, producing a "sugar high" that may lead to a crash when the wealth is interrupted. Mexican silver strengthened the Spanish Empire, but also triggered runaway inflation that blighted the lives of ordinary Spaniards. The disruptive power of Mexican silver was felt not only west-to-east, but also east-to-west, when for centuries the yearly voyages of treasure galleons carried countless tons of the precious metal from Acapulco across the Pacific to Manila, then northward to Taiwan and southern China, where business was transacted; then, following the currents, the fleet made the homeward voyage, past the shores of Japan, Siberia, Alaska, Canada and California, arriving at the home port. The round-trip voyage took about three years. The upstart Qing Dynasty grew to depend on this annual windfall, delivered regularly for centuries; when the galleons stopped coming, "cold turkey," a consequence of Mexican independence, a downward spiral of currency devaluations and economic turmoil began which eventually sealed the fate of the Chinese Empire.

Little physical evidence remains of this contact. To this day, the Chinese word for "bank" (yinhang 銀行) is literally a "silver exchange." The Spanish left words behind; *pan* is still the Taiwanese and Japanese word for western-style bread. They took with them the Taiwanese word for the world's most popular beverage, which is why we say "tea," while the Russians, who dealt with the northern Chinese, say "chai." Without going into details, the uniquely Mexican obscenity that corresponds to "the f-word" could only have come from Chinese, presumably from a Spanish-Chinese pidgin of lonely Mexican sailors. Tangible remains of the long-term Pacific trade in silver, however, are few and far between.

Northern China, however, is a different matter, not only because not only silver, but gold and copper as well, were the medium of exchange, but because of the nature of the commerce: first, because it involved non-Chinese middlemen, and second, because the trade in luxury goods went both ways. Instead of bars of bullion, the caravans brought Russian furs and Baltic amber, which are not amenable to barter. Chinese silk for Baltic amber? How would one have made change? A reliable means of exchange was necessary. Thus, a gold coin was valuable not only for its weight, but because it was standardized and useful for sustained trade. Thus, the coins were not melted down, like bullion, but kept intact, and thus there is an extensive inventory of hard evidence to learn from.

From Constantinople to Chang'an: Byzantine Gold Coins in the World of Late Antiquity is an excellent treatment of this subject. In form it is a "proceedings," an anthology of papers presented at a conference, in this case the International Conference in Changchun, China in 2017. The papers themselves are excellent; they would be daunting were it not for the choice of the book's lead-off article, which is an introduction to the subject. Pagona Papadopoulou's "The Gold of the Emperor: Imitations of Byzantine Gold Coins in the Mediterranean" explains the complicated terminology used by those specialists who are deep in their subject, and explains it in terms that the rest of us can understand. This chapter alone is worth the price of the book. Papadopoulou also provides an instructive introduction to the propaganda wars between Christendom and Islam, where the coins were stamped with outspoken messages.

The following articles detail how the demand for standardized coinage outstripped the supply, and how local mints compensated for the shortage. Jonathan Jarrett provides a detailed and well-organized treatment of local Mediterranean government's efforts to address the untheatrical, but very important lack of low-denomination coins, what we might call "small change." In addition to the central Mediterranean, he touches on the European periphery, that is, Scandinavian and Muslim kingdoms.

The chapters that follow amount to a series of stops on the Silk Road, and each stop is instructive. Sven Günther discusses imitations of Byzantine coinage in areas close to Iran, and includes instructive illustratios. A broader view of the Silk Road is presented by Wan Xiang and Lin Ying, who discuss the politics of bimetallism: gold/copper, gold/silver, silver/copper, all in the service of governmental power—and small change. Rebecca Darley discusses Roman coins and their imitations in India, and touches on the question of how one mints small change: die-struck, or cast? One side, or two? Darley's article covers not only a long period of time, but also a large area, the Indian Subcontinent. She discusses the question of a coin's value being "beyond bullion," that is, its value as a medium of exchange, a facilitator of commerce, more than its value as a precious metal that could be melted down. The chapter by Stefanos Kordozis is dense: it contains an enormous amount of data and opinion, much of it from Chinese histories and written in Chinese. For me, at least, this paper will require repeated readings to follow the ideas that Kordozis presents. Li Qiang surveys numismatic archaeology in China, more recent discoveries that shed light on Byzantine coins and their imitations in China. More exactly, Li presents a Who's Who of Chinese specialists and institutions dedicated to the subject, which, although not as interesting as the coins themselves, are useful to know. The classification of the coins themselves are discussed by Guo Yunyan, an authority praised by Li for her ground-breaking work. L. Khagvasuren Erdenbold discusses coins in the context of a Mongolian tomb. Guo Yunyan analyzes how the tomb coins illuminate the big picture.

All in all, *From Constantinople to Chang'an: Byzantine Gold Coins in the World of Late Antiquity* is quite a feast. It tells the story of a west-to-east transfer of wealth that is not as theatrical as that of Mexican silver, but one that is illuminating and indispensable to understanding the background of events in Chinese history, as a subset of the silk road.

Yasunori Kasai, editor. Dancing Wisteria-Essays in Honour of Professor Masaaki Kubo on his Ninetieth Birthday: Vol. 1, Life and Works of Professor Masaaki Kubo, Vol. 2. Bibliotheca Wisteriana, Tokyo 2020.

Reviewed by Yasunori Kasai, professor emeritus,
The University of Tokyo, Tokyo, Japan

I. Introduction

This box set consists of two volumes. The first volume contains 16 essays written by the former students and colleagues of Professor Masaaki Kubo including three foreign professors. The second contains the transcription of the recordings (oral history) of Professor Kubo, his biography and publications since 1953 to the present. The list of the essays in the first volume is as follows:

1. Attis in Catullus (Tsuneo Nakayama)
2. Words and Honour of Achilleus with special reference to Book 9 and Book 16 of the *Iliad* (Shigenari Kawashima)
3. On two Homeric conjunctions/adverbs, on ἔνθα(Od. 1. 11) and ὥς (Il.9.118) (Makoto Anzai)
4. The Idea of the *Barbaroi* in Plato, -Its Ambivalence- (Teruo Mishima)
5. The Semantic Structure of "amicitia" and the Significance of "tubby Minerva" (Yasunari Takada)
6. Horatius, *Epist*. 1.19.19-34 (Yoshihiro Oshiba)
7. On the "Byzantine Triad": between the Philology and the Theology (Manabu Akiyama)
8. Talking on the beach: Ovid *Ars*. 2.123-144 (Taro Hyuga)
9. On the prophecy to Laius: Stoic and Middle Platonic theories of fate (Tomohiko Kondo)
10. New Thoughts on Euripides' Electra, for Kubo-Sensei in Appreciation (Elizabeth Craik)
11. ACHAEUS' OLYMPIAN SYMPOSIUM (Malcolm Davies)
12. Ancient Colometry?: The representation of the *Oresteia* in Codex M (Kiichiro Itsumi)
13. Libri Juridici Jacobi Goyeri – A Preliminary Study- (Yasunori Kasai)

14. Some Questions on the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes: Names of Amphitheos and Dikaiopolis- (Hiroshi Notsu)
15. Knowledge (and Power) in Plato's *Charmides* (Christopher Rowe)
16. A Note on the Location of the Caucasus on Io's Journey in the *Prometheus Bound* (Yoshinori Sano)

The articles from 1 to 9 are written in Japanese while those from 10 to 16 are in English.

As is shown above, the range of the topics are very wide. It spreads over both in Greek and Latin, of course, from Homer and Tragedy to the Classical Reception in the Byzantine and the Early Modern times, and from Philosophy to Law. This reflects the broad interests in research and teaching of Professor Kubo. Unlike classics faculties or departments of western universities, the department of classics at the Univeristy of Tokyo, established in 1969, of which the first and founding professor was Professor Kubo, had (and has) the only one chair of classics with few part-time teaching posts. At one time he said to me that he never used the same author's same texts twice during his professorship, which means that he changed the texts of the classical authors for reading classes every year. For example, in 1978 one of his chosen authors and texts was Dodds' *Gorgias* and in 1979 that was Kassel's Aristotle's *ars rhetorica*. The very rough summary of each chapter is below.

II. Volume 1

In Chapter 1, Nakayama attempts to interpret Catullus 63, Attis, from the points of view of metre and gender and argue for the readings of the manuscript V against those of the modern editions.

In Chapter 2, to the previous interpretations of A. Parry and Jasper Griffin, Kawashima offers an alternative interpretation which can resolve Achilleus' contradicting usages of the words meaning the honour through the contextual readings of the Book 9 and the Book 16 of the *Iliad.*

In Chapter 3, by offering a thorough reading based on the analysis of the sytax, Anzai takes *entha* at *Od*.1.11 as Demonstrative-Locative-Adverb, not as Temporal-Relative-Adverb (Heubeck and Pulleyn) and hos at Il.9.118 as Demonstartive Adverb, not as Relative-Adverb.

In Chapter 4, Mishima points out an ambivalent attitude of Plato towards the *Barbaroi* by arguing that in Republic (469b8-c7) Plato draws a distinction between the Greeks and the *Barbaroi* in their nature (*physis*) whereas in *Alcibiades* and the other passages in Republic as well Plato draws a distinction not between the Greeks and the *Barbaroi* in kind but between the free and the slave of the indivituals no matter whether he/she is a Greek or not.

In Chapter 5, Takada explores the notion of *amicitia* which is multi-tissued throughout Cicero's *Amicitia* by the close reading of the text and with special reference to the notions of *memoria*, *sapientia* and *virtus*.

In Chapter 6, to the previous and opposing interpretations of *Epist*.1.19. 19-34 (28 in particular) by Fraenkel and MacLeod on the one hand, and Nisbet-Hubbard and Mayer on the other, Oshiba offers an alternative reading, which is that Horatius here declares the innovative nature of his iambic poems in a different way from the innovation done by Sappo-Alchaeus towards Archilochus' iambic.

In Chapter 7, by drawing our attention to the 'Byzantine Triad', such as Prometheus Bound, Seven against the Thebes and the Persians by Aeschylus, Akiyama introduces intellectual activities and their contributions to the transmission of the manuscripts by Byzantine scribes and scholars (Byzantine humanists) in 13th and 14th century.

In Chapter 8, through the comparison between the lines of Ovidius' *Ars Amatoria* 2.123-144 with the scene of the talk on the beach between Odysseus and Calypso in Book 5 of the *Odyssey* and other Latin poets such as Propertius and Virgil , Hyuga offers an example for the intertextual reading between Greek and Latin literature.

In Chapter 9, with a full range of the discussions on the problem of the prophecy given to Laius by hellenistic philosophers, Kondo presents us another intellectual (hi)story which has not been offered before in classical studies.

In Chapter 10, Craik, who first met and talked with Kubo in June 1997 soon after her appointment at Kyoto University as the first and only (up to now) foreign professor of classics in Japan, makes a parallel study between Hippocratic' work *On Diseases of Girls* and Euripides' *Electra* in terms of the presentation of the *parthenos* figure and reveals common elements when the marriage is delayed.

In Chapter 11, by introducing us Achaeus'satyr play *Hephaestus*, Davies attempts to reconstruct the two stages of eating and drinking performed by Hephaestus and Dionysus in a satyr play with a help of vase paintings.

In Chapter 12, as an established scholar of the metrical studies, Itsumi attempts to make a case for the study of colon (which he calls 'colometry') by examining differences between the line divisions in MSS and the metrical theory in Codex M of Aeschylus (Mediceus Laurentianus 32.9).

In Chapter 13, being encouraged by the study of Jacobus Goyer (1650/1-1689), a Dutch lawyer and classicist discovered by Professor Kubo, Kasai attempts to edit the first five pages of Goyer's notebook of Justinian's Institutes on *iniuria* lectured by Matthaeus III at Utrecht University, as well as to reprint a catalogue of Goyer's Law Library.

In Chapter 14, Notsu offers an interpretation of Aristophanes' *Acharnians* in the context of the Peloponnesian war and with special reference to the meaning of Dikaiopolis (just-city) in an ironic sense given by Aristophanes.

In Chapter 15, Rowe argues that Plato's *Charmides* should and can be read in its own right, from a point of view of knowledge of knowledge or knowledge and knowledge of ignorance in particular, no matter how the controversies among scholars are persistent.

In Chapter 16, Sano argue that shared hardships experienced by Io and Prometheus on the one hand, and sharp contrasts between them in terms of their awareness and endurance of their experience on the other are both magnified by the detailed descriptions of the places scattered and mentioned in *Prometheus Bound*.

III. The Life of Professor Masaaki Kubo

The second volume consists of three parts. The first part is Professor Kubo's oral history, the five interviews taken from July 2019 to August 2020 were recorded and reproduced in this volume. The second part is the biography and the third is the bibliography of Professor Kubo.

My own brief account of Professor Kubo's life and works will help the readers not only to appreciate his academic and personal life but also to envisage the environments in which the classical studies in Japan have developed since the second world war.

Professor Masaaki Kubo (久保正彰 hereafter just Kuno) was born in Hakushima, Hiroshima-City on 10 October 1930. His father was a banker and moved around the branches in Japan and China. Kubo spent most of days in his childhood in Kobe (Ashiya) and Osaka while in the wartime he stayed in his family origin's place called Furu-Takamastu (old-Takamatsu), near Takamatsu-city in Kagawa Prefecture in Shikoku Island, the South West of Japan.

Kubo's family origin can be traced back to, at least, the 17 century and one of his notable ancestors was Sokan Kubo (1710-1782), who was the first medical doctor of the Sanuki district (Kagawa prefecture) who went to study the Dutch medicine in Nagasaki. The connection between Kubo (family) and the Dutch scholarship had started in 18^{th} century and after a long interval revived when Kubo found a copy of Jacobus Goyer' Homer (prinetd in 1517) in 1994 in Brussel.

After the Second World War, Kubo attended Seikei High School in Tokyo from 1946 to 1948 and left in January 1949 for America. Before entering Harvard College, Kubo joined Phillips Academy, Andover, for the preparation of entrance exams. He took Maths, Physics and German. The reason for choosing German is quite interesting. It was very fortunate that he was able to learn German directly from Professor Goro Kuraishi of Seikei High School who was one of the leading Germanists and compiled the German-Japanese Dictionary. This means that the standard of German scholarship in Japan before 1945 was very high. Many high schools before the war taught German as the most important foreign language.

When he was admitted to Harvard, he initially hoped to read Maths. But he changed his Major from Maths to Classics. If he had continued Maths, most of the Japanese contributors to the volume 1 would not have become classicists and the scenary of classical studies in Japan would have been significantly different. Kubo's teachers of Classics at Harvard included Professors Werner Jaeger and John H. Finley Jr.. In 1953 Kubo graduated from Harvard with Phi Beta Kappa.

After returning to Japan in 1955, Kubo decided to pursue a research career in Classics after some consideration. His first teaching post was English in 1959 at the University of

Tokyo, not Classics. Indeed, the first chair of Classics was established at the University of Tokyo only in 1969 and occupied by Kubo himself. He also spent one year (1962-3) as a junior research fellow at the Center for Hellenic Studies which was newly established in Washington DC and where he met Professor John Gould (1927-2001) of Christ Church Oxford. They became close friends to each other.

Kubo was also heavily involved in the annual performance of the Greek tragedy in the early 1960s. Documents and interviews about this Greek Tragedy Performance were published in 2019 as a book of which Miku Sueyoshi writes a review in this journal.

Between 1969 and 1991 Kubo was Professor of Classics at the Department of Classics of the University of Tokyo and served as Dean of the Faculty of Letters from 1985 to 1987. He spent one term in 1984 as a Visiting Fellow at Corpus Christi College Oxford sponsored by Professor Sir Kenneth Dover who was President of Corpus Christi College at that time.
After the retirement from the University of Tokyo Kubo became President of Tohoku University of Arts and Technology from 1992 to 1998 which was newly founded in Yamagata city. He also became Fellow of the Japan Academy in 1992 and served as President of the Academy from 2007 to 2013 as well as President of the Classical Society of Japan from 2000 to 2001.

Kubo has been very influential to classical scholars and students in Japan since 1950s. However, I should like to call him a lone scholar. Up to the present he is still the only Japanese classicist who took an undergraduate degree in classics in the West and has obtained the chair of Classics in Japan.

Kubo married Sachiko Yonezawa in 1957 who was also a classicist and sadly died in 2017. They have two sons and one daughter. He is active and charming us as ever.

IV. The Major Academic Works of Professor Masaaki Kubo

Kubo's academic publications can be grouped into three categories. The first is essays and books written in Japanese. This includes his studies of Homer and Hesiod, Tragedy, Thuchydides and Ovid. The second is the Japanese translations of classical authors such as Thucydides, Aeschylus and Sophocles, among which his 3 vols Thucydides translation is a masterpiece. The style and the terminology of his Japanese translation both of

Thucydides' narratives and speeches as well as very detailed footnotes have attracted classical scholars and beyond. The third is a kind of Classical Reception studies. As staed above, since he found a copy of the old Aldus edition of Homer 1517, he made inquiries of the owner (Jacobus Goyer) of that copy who made notes and corrections on the margin of each page and transcribed those notes and corrections. This study resulted in the edition of Jacobus Goyer's annotations of Homer.

Last, not the least, he and his wife bought all the books (including some manuscripts and early printed editions) of the late Charles Brink, Kennedy Professor of Latin at the University of Cambridge from 1954 to 1974. The Brink Library is housed in the Department of Classics at the University of Tokyo.

The Select Bibliography of Professor Masaaki Kubo Books

Backgrounds to Ancient Greek Thoughts -Hesiod and the Epic-, Iwanami-shinsho, Tokyo 1973

Ovidiana – Essays on Greek and Roman Mythology, Seidosha, Tokyo 1978

The Odyssey- the Legend and the Epic, Iwanami-shoten, Tokyo 1983

An ntroduction to the Classics – From Epic to Drama- , Hosodaigaku, Tokyo 1988 the new edition, Chikuma-shobo, Tokyo 2018

Essays in Greek and Latin Literature, Iwanami Tokyo, 1992

Jacobus Goyer, Jacobi Goyeri Annotationes in Homerum (Aldo 1517): transcription with bibliographical notes and Index Fontium, Bibliotheca Wisteriana, Tokyo 2006

Japanese Translations

Thuchydides *The Peloponnesian War* 3 vols, Iwanami Tokyo 1966-1967 one of three general editors, *The Greek Tragedy 14 vols*. Iwanami Tokyo 1990-1992)

Aeschylus, *Agamemnon, Choephoroi*, in Iwanami Tokyo 1990

Kenneth Dover, *The Greeks*, Seidosha Tokyo, 1982

Article in English

'The norm of myth: Euripides Electra', in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 71 (1966), pp. 15-31

'Classical Philology in Japan', *La filologia greca e latina nel secolo XX-Atti del Congresso internationale 1984*, pp. 669-684 (published 1989)

The English title, ‘Dancing Wisteriana (Toka-no-Tawamure), means that; in the garden of Kubo’s original family there was a set of shelves of gorgeous wisteria plant. Kubo told us that he saw exactly the same species of wisteria in the Siebold botanic garden (Phillip Franz von Siebold 1796-1866 who came to Japan and wrote ‘Nippon’.) at the University of Leiden. That wisteria looked (to Kubo) as if it is ‘dancing’, in the same way as his life is dancing.

This box set is distributed by the publisher called Bibliotheca Wisteriana. Anyone who wishes to obtain the copy, please send e-mail to: yasunori.kasai@hotmail.co.jp

P. Ovidii Nasonis Fasti. Translated into Chinese with notations by Yongyi Li.

Reviewed by Isabel Su,
Independent Scholar.

P. Ovidii Nasonis Fasti translated by Yongyi Li is divided into five sections: introduction, Chinese translation with notes, Latin text of *Fasti*, a brief review of Ovidian studies, and a bibliography. In the introduction, Professor Li first gives the information concerning Ovid's life, his works, and the historical background of *Fasti*. Next, he introduces the themes of this book not only by explaining the calendar and the religion of Ancient Rome, the discussion on astrology and the constellation illustrated in *Fasti*, but also by relating scholarly interpretations of its political meaning, which gives readers a further understanding of Ovid and his poem. He also adds a general survey of *Fasti*'s critical evaluation for over a century, offering insights as to how the work was perceived in literary history. At the end of the introduction, he indicates the scansion of *Fasti* and his approach to the translation, but does not mention his principles of rendering the poem in detail.

The next two sections are Professor Li's Chinese translation and the Latin text edited by E. H. Alton, D. E. Wormell, and E. Courtney. The translation, on one hand, is a faithful poetic rendering, in which Professor Li successfully represents Ovid's playful tone and many mythological descriptions; on the other hand, although it is pleasant to read out loud Professor Li's translation, it seems that for seeking a suitable Chinese rhyme, he may have paraphrased the Latin original. Besides, some omissions are found from the Latin text. In the following two paragraphs of this review, those paraphrased lines and the omitted words in his translation wil be discussed. In the final section of this book, Professor Li presents an overview concerning the studies of Ovid, including a concise history of the editions of his works and a literature review in Europe from the aspects of source, influence, theme, aesthestics, and cultural studies throughout the centuries. A brief history of the Chinese translation of Ovid's works in Mainland China is presented as well. Overall, he tries to offer a general perspective to those who are interested in the Ovidian studies.

Generally speaking, even though Professor Li follows the Latin text to translate the entire poem line by line, in order to use some suitable Chinese rhymes and make the translation more fluent to read, he occasionally does not render his translation word for word. Rather, he attempts to express similar ideas in Chinese by paraphrasing the Latin original. I will only take some lines for examples. In what follows, I will offer my translation after Professor Li's. The discussed parts are in bold:

mox **ego**, 'cur, quamvis aliorum numina **placem**,
Iane, tibi primum tura merumque **fero**?' (bk. 1, 171-172)
Li's translation: 我又道：「雅努斯，雖然**其他神也在我心頭**，
為何**你最先享用**乳香和美酒？」
my translation: 我又說：「儘管**我敬奉其他神祇**，
雅努斯啊，為何**先向祢獻上**乳香和美酒？」

From the example above, it is evident that Professor Li loosely rephrases the Latin original into his Chinese translation in order to fit properly the "ou" rhyme by using the Chinese characters 心頭 *xintou* (mind) and 酒 *jiu* (wine). If these two lines of his translation are rendered into English, their meaning would roughly be "Ianus, although **other gods are on my mind as well**, why do **you enjoy** at frankincense and wine **at the very first**?" He apparently does not follow the Latin grammatical structure to translate the two lines, so that not only the subject of this interrogative sentence *ego* and the dative pronoun *tibi* from the Latin original are lost in his translation, but also the meanings of the verbs either in the concessive clause or in the main interrogative clause are rewritten to be more appropriate for the context of his Chinese translation. Regardless of the Chinese rhymes, my translation in English, however, would be "although **I propitiate other divinities**, Janus, why do **I first bring you** frankincense and wine?" My translation follows the Latin grammar, indicating that the subject of this sentence is "I," that the person and the meaning of the subjunctive verb *placem* in the subordinate clause should be "I propitiate" or "I placate", and that the main verb *fero* is just translated into "I bring" or "I carry" in such a way that *tibi* is not lost here. Besides, Professor Li adds two adverbs 也 *ye* (also) and 最 *zui* (the very) to his Chinese translation which are not found in the Latin original.

In Professor Li's translation, there are other examples similar to the previous one in rewriting the Latin original to make the final words of those lines to be suitable for certain Chinese rhymes. Here I would like to mention two of them. The first is:

risit, et 'o **quam** te fallunt tua saecula' **dixit**,
'qui stipe mel sumpta dulcius esse putas! (bk. 1, 191-192)
Li's translation: 他笑了:「**你與這個時代的精神太絕緣**,
竟以為蜂蜜比到手的錢更香甜!」
my translation: 他笑了,**並說**:「噢,**你的時代如此愚弄你**,
還以爲蜂蜜比到手的錢更香甜!」

For these two lines, he freely paraphrases the direct quotation of line 191 as "'**you are excessively not fit in the spirit of this age**'" rather than translate it precisely according to the Latin grammar, in order that the final Chinese character of line 191 緣 *yuan* (relation) is rhymed "*an*" with the end of the word 甜 *tien* (sweet) of line 192. Strictly speaking, the direct quotation beginning with *quam* said by Janus is an exclamatory clause with the personification of *tua saecula* to express that the author is deceived by his age to such a great extent. Furthermore, in his translation of line 191, another main clause *dixit* is also missing. Compared with Professor Li's understanding of these two lines, I prefer to translate them word for word so that the personification Ovid uses here can be presented. My Chinese translation in English would be "**he laughed and said 'oh, how much your age deceives you**, and you think honey is more sweet than the obtained money!'"

The second example is:

sive deum prudens alium divamve **fefelli**,
abstulerint celeres improba dicta Noti: (bk. 5, 685-686)
Li's translation: 還是故意以別的男神女神**為防禦**,
讓迅疾的南風捲走一切妄語!
my translation: 還是**我精明地騙了**其他男神或女神,
就讓迅疾的南風捲走那些妄語。

For these lines of Book 5, to have agreement with the "*yu*" rhyme of 語 *yu* (words) of line 686, Professor Li makes the final word of line 685 as 禦 *yu* (defense), and rephrases this line as "**or I intentionally treated** other god and goddess **as defense**". The "defense" in his translation may probably refer to a certain of psychological defense by which a person can be protected from anxieties through lying or distorting the reality. He, therefore, renders *fefelli* in an implicit way instead of indicating its explicit meaning of "I cheated" or "I deceived." My version would be more literally as "**or I prudently cheated** other god or goddess, letting the swift South Wind carry the immoderate words away."

Despite the fact that Professor Li's Chinese translation is quite fluent and easy to read, some omissions of words can be noticed while reading the Latin original. First, when Ovid relates the hilarious story of Priapus's rape in Book 1, the raper Priapus, who terrifies the birds with his sexual organ, is described as "ruber [red]" for his appearance: "quique ruber pavidas inguine terret aves" (400). Professor Li, nontheless, renders this line as following: "還有他——碩大陽具讓眾鳥驚駭", in which the nominative adjetive "ruber" modifying "qui" to portray Priapus's image is omitted. These two words "quique ruber [and the red one]" should be understood in Chinese as "而那紅臉的人". According to the commentary on Book 1 of *Fasti* by Steven Green, "ruber" actually means "statues of Priapus were painted red" and "the color is particularly fitting for Priapus..." (189). "Ruber" here is considered a special color which reveals Priapus's figure and his arrival. If this word is not rendered, one of the characteristics of this obscene god is unfortunately not shown. But for the second Priapus's rape on Vesta in Book 6, the word "ruber" which signifies the image of Priapus, is not ignored in Professor Li's translation. Thus, the omission of "ruber" in Book 1 may be out of the translator's negligence. Likewise, in the tale of Attis's castration from Book 4, a simple sentence "ut tacui [as I fell silent]" which presents the speaker's hesitation is also skipped.

Furthermore, when Ovid refers the meaning of February from the instruments of purification "februa", he mentions two acts of purifications related to Peleus. One is when Peleus purified Actorides; another is when Acastus purified Peleus for the slaughter of his brother named Phocus. In Chinese translation, however, Professor Li omits the subject "Acastus" of this line, who cleansed Peleus, regarding the prepositional phrase "per Haemonias aquas" as the subject:

Actoriden Peleus, ipsum quoque Pelea Phoci
caede per Haemonias solvit Acastus aquas (bk. 2, 39-40);

Li's translation: 佩琉斯淨化帕特洛克羅斯，海摩尼亞水
也曾洗淨他殺死福柯斯之罪；
my translation: 阿卡斯圖斯也曾用海摩尼亞水
洗淨他殺死福柯斯之罪

By comparing the Latin original and the Chinese translation of these two lines, it is clear to see that Professor Li does not render the subject "Acastus", but indicates in the note the myth of Peleus's purification for his crime of fratricide done by Eurytion. In Greek mythology, Peleus certainly received the purification from Eurytion due to the murder of his brother. Later he was purified again by Acastus, because he accidentally killed Eurytion in the Calydonian Hunt. Nevertheless, in Ovid's interpretaion of Peleus's purifications, the scene of Eurytion is bypassed, which narration can also be found from lines 407 to 409 in Chapter XI of *Metamorphoses*.[1] It seems that Ovid has his own version concerning the tale of Peleus, which is different from the main source of the myth (Robinson 81-82). Therefore, I reckon that the explanation given by Professor Li in the note of this line is questionable, and it may lead readers to think that in *Fasti*, Eurytion is the one who purified Peleus instead of Acastus.

As Don Quixote and Sancho arrive at a print shop in Barcelona, where they speak with a translator, and he addresses that for him "el traducir de una lengua en otra, como no sea de las reinas de las lenguas, griega y latina, es como quien mira los tapices flamencos por el revés." (1032)[2] Professor Li's oustanding Chinese translation of Ovid's *Fasti*, however, is not only a work of art, but truly a great contribution to the field of Western Classical studies in the Sinophone world. Anyone who interested in Ovid and Classics can certainly benefit from it.

[1] "nec tamen hac profugum consistere Pelea terra fata sinunt, Magnetas adit vagus exul et illic sumit ab Haemonio purgamina caedis Acasto [But still the fates did not suffer the banished Peleus to continue in this island. The wandering exile went on to Magnesia, and there, at the hands of the Haemonian king, Acastus, he gained full absolution from his bloodguiltiness]." Ovid. *Metamorphoses*. With an English Translation by Frank Justus Miller. Books IX-XV. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1958. Loeb Classical Library.

[2] Cerventes, Miguel de. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*. Edición y notas de Francisco Rico. Barcelona: Random House Grupo Editorial, 2015. Here I use Edith Grossman's translation for reference: "translation from one language into another, if it be not from the queens of languages, the Greek and the Latin, is like looking at Flemish tapestries on the wrong side." *Don Quijote*. A New Translation by Edith Grossman. New York: HarperCollins, 2005.

Rock Solid: Volume 36/2 of the *Journal of Ancient Civilizations*

Reviewed by Michael Skupin, emeritus,
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Journal of Ancient Civilizations is published by the Institute for the Study of Ancient Civilizations at Northeast Normal University in Changchun, China. Volume 36/2 is a celebratory number, commemorating the *Journal*'s 30th anniversary and the 60th birthday of its director.

The five articles included in 36/2 are daunting: they contain valuable research and insights, but are clearly the product of specialists writing for other specialists. The rest of us will find these pieces slow going. For example, I assumed that the first article that caught my eye, Stefanie Schmidt's "Early Roman Syene (1st to 2nd Century) -- A Gate to the Red Sea?" would be in the lively continuum of J. H. Thiel's 1939 book about the transoceanic trade between the Middle East and the Far East, *Eudoxus of Cyzicus: A Chapter in the History of the Sea-Route to India and the Route Round the Cape in Ancient Times.* Schmidt's article concerns the possibility of a canal linking the inland city of Syene with the Red Sea, and her presentation and analysis of the relevant data are excellent. She does not, however, touch on the question of why such a canal would have been built, nor how its construction and use would have changed the status quo. A specialist writes for other specialists.

The same tone is found in Guo Zilong's article on republished Greek texts, that is, editorial retouches observed in later versions of Attic orators' work. The reader with a good command of Greek and a good understanding of the field would find the piece a rich collection of exempla. The less accomplished reader will probably skim the article and leave a close reading for another day.

Elisabeth Günther theatrical gestures preserved in ancient vase paintings is voluminous and thought-provoking, but has the stylistic flaw frequently observed in specialist literature, inflated footnotes, footnotes that show more polish and careful writing than the article itself. I recall in my editorial days telling contributors to flip their articles upside-down to make them more readable, or at least integrate the content-heavy, Tolstoyan footnotes into the main line of the piece.

Irene Berti's article on Delian writing materials and their cost features charts to illustrate the details of her survey. The presentation is very detailed, but is not light reading. The same is true of Péter Kató's discussion of Coan philanthropists' behavior deduced from ancient texts.

The articles in 36/2 are magisterial in tone, and each is a valuable contribution to its field, insofar as I am able to judge. I am not a specialist, however, and so must remain a hesitant observer, on the outside looking in.

Mouri Mitsuya and Hosoi Atsuko, eds. 古代ギリシア 遥かな呼び声にひかれて——東京大学ギリシア悲劇研究会の活動 *To the Very Echo: Performances of Greek Tragedy by the Greek Tragedy Study Club (GTSC), University of Tokyo*. Ronsosha, 2019.

Reviewed by Miku Sueyoshi,
Ph.D. student, Cambridge University

As Fate Flows: Records of a Student Theatre Company in Tokyo in the 1950s and 60s

"Now, cease your lamentation and do not stir it up anymore; everything has thus been determined" (S. *OC* 1777-79, translated by the author). As the chorus of elders sing these lines, it marks the end of *Oedipus at Colonus* written by the old yet imaginative Sophocles. In a formularized but still lively manner, the old men of Colonus, where King Oedipus breathed his last, deliver their last message to the audience: do not lament, things are sorted out.

When Professor Masaaki Kubo, the founder of the Department of Classics at the University of Tokyo and the 24th President of the Japan Academy, recalls his days in the Greek Tragedy Study Club, of which memories and records this volume is dedicated to, it is *Oedipus at Colonus* that comes first to his mind. Not only is it the last work in Sophocles' Theban series that premiered in 410 BCE,[1] three decades after *Antigone* and two after the *Oedipus the King*, but it is also the source of 'a distant voice' which has been, as Professor Kubo understands it, speaking to him even during the preparation of his talk which is presented in this volume. These lines occupy the central part of what he delivered in front of his old fellows. For him, those choral lines which signal the resolution of the play itself and, at the same time, of the fate surrounding the house of Oedipus are echoing as 'a distant voice'; the lines also guide us through the marvelous

[1] According to Professor Kubo's notes in this volume.

achievements by a student theatre company that successfully brought almost a dozen of Greek tragic works on stage in the 1950s and 60s. The company was, and is, as their influence has never ceased to exist, called 'Giri-ken.'[2]

On October 14, 2017, a one-day conference on 'Giri-ken' was held at Seijo University in Tokyo as a part of a series of events that celebrated the 100th anniversary of the university. This volume was published two years later to record the lectures and talks delivered on this occasion. One of the editors, Mitsuya Mouri, Professor Emeritus at Seijo University and an expert in theatre studies, notes in the preface that the student company's activities and achievements have not been fully explored yet and that makes their status in the history of modern Japanese theatre still unclear even to scholars of theatre studies. In order to fill this gap, this book was published to record what they, as undergraduate and graduate students, succeeded to do on-stage and off; and even to make them more publicly known, this book appeared on stage.

It might be somewhat difficult to detect from its name, but the aim of Greek Tragedy Study Club was, in fact, to perform tragedy but not to just study it. The members believed that their attempts to bring ancient poetry on stage would itself enhance their understanding of the essence of Greek tragedy. On 2nd of June 1958, the following year of its foundation, they brought their first performance onto the stage of Hibiya Open-Air Concert Hall in Tokyo, which was chosen as an ideal venue for performing Greek dramas given their firm belief that tragedy was to take place somewhere in the open, not in a theatre under the roof. The success of their production of *Oedipus the King* enabled the student company to continue to perform a piece on an annual basis. By 1970, the year in which they ceased to exist, their repertoire had been expanded to 11 works: *Antigone* (1959), *Prometheus Bound* (1960), *Agammemnon* (1961), *Philoctetes* (1962), *Trojan Women* (1963), *Heracles* (1964), *Persians* (1965), *Bacchae* (1966), the Aeschylean *Suppliants* (1968), and *Seven Against Thebes* (1970). It is surprising that the students, with very limited amount of professional help, produced almost one third of the entire corpus of Greek tragedy.

What, then, was the hardest toil for the company in performing Greek tragedy? When

[2] 'Giri-ken' is derived from the abbreviation of the company's original name in Japanese 'Girisia Higeki Kenkyuukai'; its literal translation, Greek Tragedy Study Club, is being used in the English title of the book and elsewhere, e.g., in Production Database of APGRD's website (http://www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/research-collections/performance-database/productions). For further information on the company, see their official page (https://www.greektragedystudyclub.com/en/).

Yusuke Hosoi, Professor Emeritus at University of the Sacred Heart whose field is aesthetics, reminisces about their production process, he reiterates that the members focused on three points. Each of these -- namely, chorus, masks, and language -- was, according to him, the very elements that made Greek tragedy what it was, and thus, what gave them the severest headache. Here in this review, however, for the sake of my own research which deals with the musical culture of the ancient Greek world I shall attempt to observe the entire volume from a particular point of view: the chorus and its production through the history of Giri-ken.

Mr. Sadao Nakajima, who later became a cinema director with expertise in sex and violence, recalls his struggle as the 'chorus analyst' in the production of *Oedipus the King*. In his examination of the English and German translations of the Sophoclean piece and the challenge to create a Japanese script based on them, he found 'the choral parts were totally beyond his capacity', even though he had already determined to write a thesis on the chorus to get his undergraduate degree. Even after the completion of the script at the end of 1957, he continued to discuss how to direct the Theban chorus with his colleagues; it was in one of those occasions that their discussion caught the attention of Professor Kubo, who had just come back from the U.S. and was having a cup of tea with his newly-wed wife in a small coffee shop in front of the University of Tokyo. His participation in the company was thus arranged by fate.

Since then, the students' toil in bringing the chorus into the orchestra at Hibiya had been shared with Professor Kubo; even for this young graduate of Harvard and later the first professor of the Department of Classics at the University of Tokyo, the Greek chorus remained a mystery during entire his days in Giri-ken. That he 'had no clue what the role of the tragic chorus was, so had to let the production go on without grasping the least idea of its essence' vividly tells us the uniqueness of the ancient chorus; it is also a major headache to any modern company that has attempted to revive Greek theatre in our age.

Going back to behind the scenes of *Oedipus the King*; even when rehearsals started, Mr. Nakajima was still seeking a practicable solution to the choral performance on stage. A chorus group at Tokyo University agreed to play the Theban elders, but they had had absolutely no previous experience in dancing, which is the very feature that separates the ancient Greek chorus from the modern counterpart. Moreover, only a month, i.e., around one tenth in length of the usual choral training for the City Dionysia, could be spared for the student chorus to prepare themselves in both singing and dancing. To serve as the ‘*choregos*’ who was supposed to give theatrical direction to the choreuts at that time, as Mr. Nakajima recounts, meant that there was no other way left for him than to rely on his own perceptions on the ancient chorus: “I was the only one who studied the chorus back then; but the thing was, nobody had seen the real chorus with their eyes. In short, the chorus was a dancing collective, whose commitment was to dance collectively.”

Let us turn our attention to the structure of this volume; preceded by lectures, talks, and a symposium by former members of the company, we can find very detailed records of each production. All of these lists of staff, casts, and contributors, indices of leaflets distributed to advertise their plays, and of the published journals which they, as a ‘study club’, imposed on themselves, and even financial statements help us to imagine their long path to the stage of Hibiya. In exploring these records, I shall stick to the chorus in ‘Giri-ken’ to show various methods they deployed for better production.

For *Antigone* (1959) and *Philoctetes* (1962) choral songs were recorded in advance so that the choreuts could concentrate on their dance and physical movements; especially in the latter all the lines of the actors were pre-recorded as well. While two separate choruses, one for singing and the other for dancing, stood simultaneously in the orchestra of *Prometheus Bound* (1960), *Persae* (1965), *Bacchae* (1966), and *Seven Against Thebes* (1970), the one and only chorus, just like the Greek original, performed with their voice and movements in *Oedipus the King* (1958), *Agamemnon* (1961), *Trojan Women* (1963), *Heracles* (1964), and *Suppliants* (1968).

For the first time in *Agamemnon* the members of Giri-ken themselves, but not some external chorus troupes that they had deployed in the previous three plays, put costumes and masks on to become the chorus. According to Professor Mouri, one of ‘the twelve Argive elders’, they decided to play the choreuts by themselves for a deeper understanding of the chorus from which the company had been suffering ever since their birth. Although the audience could hardly catch their voices coming from the underneath of thick latex-made masks and, as a result, the long choral ode at the beginning of the play was criticized for “being boring as hell”, this experimental method made a breakthrough for the company. Most of the founding members consider this production in 1961 to be their best. They found, at this very moment, a key to the heart of Greek tragedy: to dance and sing as a chorus.

Things thus sorted out, Giri-ken reached the best possible answer they could on the production of chorus. If they were led to the solution by some supernatural irresistible force, as Professor Kubo considers the king Oedipus at Colonus to be, or rather, if they had any firm reasoning in playing the chorus by themselves and, first of all, in conceiving an idea of making a theatre company for Greek tragedy, we cannot tell clearly from this volume. Its English title, *To the Very Echo*, however, may give us a clue.
Macbeth, a Scottish king who assassinated his predecessor and usurped his throne, is losing his sanity by seeing an unidentified disease encroaching on his country and his wife, for which even his doctor is giving up finding a remedy. Ordering his doctor to keep working on it, he promises 'I would applaud thee *to the very echo*, that should applaud again'[3] if he could purge the disease. As most of us know, this applause would never be realized as Macbeth is to be killed as a usurper and tyrant; by referring to 'the very echo', a natural but personified phenomenon on which he has no control, the king appears as a hopeless man trying to reverse his fate in vain.

What, then, 'the very echo' does mean to the existence of Giri-ken? The title of this book, *To the Very Echo*, was chosen by Professor Kubo himself as Atsuko Hosoi, Professor Emeritus at Seikei University and one of the editors of this volume, told me in an email. When he found the final song of the chorus in *Oedipus at Colonus* echoing in his mind, their words 'everything has been determined' started to convey a positive meaning to him; fate embraces Oedipus and everything that he has gone through. Fate, indeed, played an important role in the student theatre company as Professor Kubo's encounter with Giri-ken itself was totally coincidental; their success in performing Greek tragedy, however, was nothing but something they built on a land where fate does not dominate. May everyone in later generations applaud their achievements to the very echo that should applaud again and again.

[3] Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, V. 3. 53-4, italicised by the author.

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China-Update Classics 2021[1]

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Classical Studies in China and the whole world have been heavily affected by the pandemic.[2] Of course, students and scholars of universities, and hence in Classics, are extremely privileged in their status and continuing possibilities to read, teach, study, and research when considering how societies as a whole were, and are, hit by Covid-19. Yet, the once seemingly endless growing internationalization, exchange, and cooperation across continents came to a sudden halt in its “normal” form in the first quarter of 2020, but - *ex pessimo bonum* - built new paths and normalities since then, mostly digital ones though.

2019 where the last update stopped had ended very promising for Classics in China: Several colleagues were present with their panels and papers at the 15th Congress of the Fédération Internationale des Associations d'Études Classiques (FIEC), which was held together with the Classical Association (CA) annual conference from 5 to 8 July 2019 in London. For instance, one sessions dealt with “Ovid in China” and assembled experts from the ongoing Ovid-translation project as well as related colleagues to exchange their thoughts on the reception of Ovid in China and through a Chinese lens (organizer: Tom Sienkewicz, Monmouth College, Illinois, USA; chair: Jinyu Liu, De Pauw University, USA and Shanghai Normal University, China). Within the session “Global Classics”, organized by Joe Farrell (University of Pennsylvania, USA), Jinyu Liu also gave a paper on “Graeco-Roman Classics in China: Historical, Institutional, and Academic Contexts”. A comparative approach was taken in the two sessions “Metatextuality in Greece and China: A Comparative Approach”, organized by Gastón J. Basile (University of Buenos Aires, Argentina / Humboldt University, Germany / Warburg Institute, UK) and chaired by Glenn Most (Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Italy) and Michael Puett (Harvard University, USA), respectively. Legal-historical perspectives were in the focus of the session “Frames of Legal Language, Concepts and Cultures in the Late Roman Republic”, organized by the present author. And Chun Liu (Peking University) was participant in the roundtable-discussion “Teaching the Undergraduates of 2019: A Global Perspective”.

Among the several conferences in 2019 and beginning of 2020, just before the pandemic, I would like to mention three noteworthy events. At the end of June 2019, several scholars met for the workshop “Ancient History from the View of World History” at Fudan University, Shanghai, organized by Wang Zhongxiao and Donni Wang to discuss the chances and challenges of the world history framework – including comparative, entangled, and

[1] For the last update, see S. Günther 2019; cf. Gheerbrant and Zeng Yi 2018; Yang Huang 2019 and Mutschler 2019. See also the blog-entry by Coleman 2016; cf. James 2021. Across the ancient (Western) studies disciplines it is interesting to note such emergence of surveys on the history of the respective field, in China and globally, often under the header of “Global Studies”, which would be worthwhile to analyze from a historical perspective of narrative-building. An uncompleted list of Classics-related institutions and staff in China can be found here: https://www.academia.edu/62600470/List_of_Classics_Institutions_and_Persons_in_China (28.11.2021).

[2] Conferences and research exactly on this topic have, naturally, been emerging. For a short Chinese paper on epidemic language in Latin historians, see Günther 2021.

transnational approaches – for ancient (Western) studies.[3] Traditionally, the "Historical Studies on Women and Gender"-conference, Shanghai Normal University, Shanghai, chief-organized by Yi Zhaoyin has several panels on Classics' topics, and fortunately it could be held in presence in 2019, and as hybrid events in 2020 and 2021, to promote this important topic. In mid-January 2020, IHAC celebrated its 35th anniversary of foundation together with the 60th birthday of its current director, Professor Zhang Qiang with the international conference "*Ad Fontes Ipsos Properandum*! Law, Economy, and Society in Ancient Sources", selected papers of which are now published in the *Journal of Ancient Civilizations* (JAC 36/2 [2021]).

JAC has continued to be the "Chinese" voice to the international world of ancient (Western) studies (Classics, but also Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Egyptology, and Byzantine Studies). Chief-directed by the present author the introduction of the double-blind peer-reviewed system has improved the international standing, and has resulted in further admission to two renowned international citation databases, Scopus and ERIH PLUS in 2019 and 2021, respectively. Additionally, the supplementary series has been revived in the meanwhile, with three volumes having appeared in 2019 and 2021: *Byzantium in China. Studies in Honour of Professor Xu Jialing on the Occasion of her Seventieth Birthday*, edited by Sven Günther, Li Qiang, Claudia Sode, Stafan Wahlgren, and Zhang Qiang (2019; field: Byzantine Studies; JAC-Supplements; 6); *Of Rabid Dogs, Hunchbacked Oxen, and Infertile Goats in Ancient Babylonia: Studies Presented to Wu Yuhong on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, edited by Sven Günther, Wayne Horowitz, and Magnus Widell (2021; field: Ancient Near Eastern Studies and related fields; JAC-Supplements; 7);[4] *From Constantinople to Chang'an. Byzantine Gold Coins in the World of Late Antiquity. Papers Read at the International Conference in Changchun, China, 23–26 June 2017*, edited by Sven Günther, Li Qiang, Lin Ying, and Claudia Sode (2021; field: Byzantine Studies and Numismatics; JAC-Supplements; 8).

Another important publication comes from the aforementioned Ovid-project: selected papers of the 2017-conference "Globalizing Ovid: An International Conference in Commemoration of the Bimillennium of Ovid's Death" have now appeared under the direction of Liu Jinyu in Chinese. The international proceedings are going to be published at Brill in 2022.

Furthermore, the still increasing number of publications of Chinese scholars, both internationally and in Chinese (ancient) history journals, edited volumes, and, of course, monographies, testifies of the great momentum of ancient Western studies, and Classics in particular in Chinese academia. Hence, it is more than welcome that recently the *Année Philologique* has announced to start registering Chinese articles and journals related to ancient (Western) studies in their famous bibliographical database.[5] In this way, also the present East Asian Journal of Classical Studies will certainly contribute substantially to the further development of Classics and Ancient History in China, East Asia, and the reputation and impact of Asian scholars in the world.

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[3] On this topic, cf. the "Forum Comparative Studies – Chances and Challenges" with opinions by Mutschler and Scheidel, and S. Günther 2017; and the bibliographical survey "Global History" with contributions by Schulz and Walter and Shi Xueliang, both 2018.

[4] Therein, one finds a short summary on ANE- and Egyptology-studies in China: Piccin, Wang Guangsheng and Günther 2021, cf. their bibliography for further surveys in the fields.

[5] This was officially announced and presented at the workshop "L'*Année Philologique* and the New Correspondence for China" on 12 November 2021, organized by Xavier Gheerbrant and Zeng Yi, Sichuan University.

Important for stimulating this momentum is the annual meeting of scholars and students, always organized at a different university across China. While the annual meeting of Ancient History researchers in China could still be held in presence in 2019 in Harbin, the meeting in 2020 was organized as a hybrid event at Guangxi Normal University, Guilin, Guangxi Autonomous Region, and the 2021-conference had to be postponed but was eventually held at Mongolia University for Nationalities, Tong Liao, Inner Mongolia, in the middle of November. Equally important is the institutionalized exchange within the region, yet the 12th Japan-Korea-China Symposium on Ancient European History – China taking part therein since 2007 – could unfortunately not be held in 2021.[6] Anyway, Chinese researchers and students have found their ways of communicating and discussing their research results with their peers.

In this respect, online-events have become a frequent medium of exchange, both in teaching and scholarship. Regarding teaching, the advantages and disadvantages of online courses are obvious. To name but a few: Recorded lectures can be prepared and heard at times convenient for instructors and students who both can work remotely; virtual classrooms are a convenient medium to exchange, to share (digital) content, and use the whole toolset of digital methods; on the other hand, communication via email, chats, social media, and digital rooms where one often cannot see or get a direct feedback is open for misunderstandings and ambiguities; and most importantly, the momentum of different personae being together in one classroom and being creative in full interaction based on the presence of their *physeis* and *psychae* is impossible to resemble in the digital world.

One further potential lies in bringing the world to a digital classroom with few means. Speaking for IHAC but also – as I know – for many Chinese universities, the possibilities to invite and organize online courses, lectures, and workshops provided by scholars from all over the world has enriched the teaching, as well as the access to scholarly discussion, in times when travelling is more difficult. Besides, at IHAC we conducted two courses where we brought students from our institute and German universities in exchange, working on digital exhibitions: one was on mapping Pliny the Elder's perspective on ancient Rome in the middle of the first century AD, together with students from the Institute for Digital Humanities at the University of Göttingen in WS 2020/21; the other on "Parthia as Core and Link of the Ancient Silk Road", together with students from Ancient History departments at University of Kassel and Trier in SS 2021. All advantages and disadvantages for teaching and cooperation mentioned above appeared, naturally, in these courses; yet, the intercultural contact between students from different countries who would normally not have the chance to meet in person (except for the few lucky ones receiving travel scholarships via the Chinese Scholarship Council or Erasmus +) and the necessary (ex-)change of perspectives was the core element, and stimulated students' minds.[7] Consequently, the that becoming aware of different perspectives is an important part of our research, into ancient sources and into modern historians' and our viewpoints, has been intensively discussed in two online-conferences on "Frames and Framing in Antiquity", held from 16-18 October 2020 and 15-17 October 2021.[8]

[6] On the research and reception of Western antiquity in this region, see the contributions in Renger and Xin Fan 2019.

[7] See E. Günther and S. Günther 2022. The digital exhibition "Parthia as Core" is going to be published in 2022.

[8] Conference report on Frames and Framing I by S. Günther and E. Günther 2021; Frames and Framing II: E. Günther and S. Günther 2021. Selected papers of the first conference will be published in 2022 in JAC-Supplements.

Yet, “online” has gained momentum in another aspect since the beginning of the pandemic. Individual help and support via Wechat etc. in times when access to libraries and personal meetings were limited, discussions about Classics’ topics in dedicated Wechat groups, and online teaching as well as knowledge-sharing platforms such as Bilibili have become seemingly more important. What is more, Wechat and other social media platforms are not only suitable for such aspects of the Classics community but can be researched as fora of very dynamic reception of Classics-topics, for instance, by putting face-masks over the face of ancient statues or commenting on current events with quotes from classical authors. In this way, the “next foreigner”, as Uvo Hölscher has called (Western) antiquity, serves as a mirror of ongoing discourses linked to texts, artifacts, and iconographies (not only) from Greek and Roman times – a topic that certainly deserves further attention.

A last and good development in the real world: The standardized Greek and Latin test organized by Hendrikus van Wijlick from the Centre for Classical and Medieval Studies at Peking University, offered since 2017, could be conducted after a gap year in 2020 at the end of May 2021, the first time not only with students writing the tests on elementary and intermediate level in Greek and Latin at Peking University but also at IHAC. This more flexible scheme has attracted a great number of students to write the respective test in order to know their current level of Greek and Latin. It is hoped to be held at further university locations in China in the future to promote the knowledge and professional teaching of these two ancient languages that open the world to classical antiquity, and beyond.

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